

1978 of Festival American Folklife



Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

Community: The Festival Theme

Since its beginnings in 1967, the Festival of American Folklife has approached research and presentation of traditional culture from three perspectives. These are: the perspective of style, focusing on the manner in which a traditional item is made or performed and which marks that piece as a creation within a particular tradition; the perspective of identity, highlighting the ideational content of a performance that expresses a particular ethos or approach to group life; and the perspective of community, examining the relationships among people that support and are expressed by folklife performances. We have selected the last of these, community, for particular emphasis in this year's Festival and in the four annual Festivals that will follow.

The community that we explore and celebrate has many forms. It is the cohesive, closely knit, geographically discrete community of ethnic and tribal groups. It is the occupational community that assembles for eight hours a day at a particular worksite. It is the community whose members may be separated by oceans and may never have met, but whose communal feelings are evoked when a shared linguistic and cultural heritage is realized. It is the community of age-mates that gathers to learn and play. And finally, it is the family community that shares its daily sustenance together.

We explore the contours and meanings of these communities. We celebrate them, and we ask you to join us in experiencing and appreciating their value.

Ralph Rinzler, *Director*
Folklife Program

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Contents

Community: The Festival Theme	Ralph Rinzler	
The Folklife Festival: In Search of Community	S. Dillon Ripley	3
The Nation's Festival on the National Mall	William J. Whelan	4
Festival, Folklife and Community		
American Sense of Community: Circling the Square or Hitting the Road	Roger D. Abrahams	5
In and Out of Time: Festival, Liminality and Communitas	Victor Turner	7
The Festival as Community	Susan Kalčík	9
Mexican Communities		
In Celebration of Mexico Today	Ralph Rinzler	12
Traditional Music of the Mexican Mestizos	Daniel Sheehy	14
Craft Sales at the Festival	Ralph Rinzler	16
The Ethnic Community		
Mexican-American Crafts and Household Arts	Susan Kalčík & Alicia Gonzalez	17
Ellis Island and American Immigration	Margaret Yocom	19
The Native American Community		
Seven Centuries of Tradition: The Pueblo of San Juan	Maria LaVigna	21
Family Folklore		
Good Stories from Hard Times	Steven Zeitlin	23
<i>Program Supplement: General Information, Schedules, Participants</i>		
Children's Folklore		
Boys and Ball Games	Kate Rinzler	25
The Dunham School Exhibit	Margaret Yocom	27
The Occupational Community		
The Community that Works Together	Jack Santino	29
Organ Building	John Fesperman	31
New Life for the Ancient Craft of Organ Building	Barbara Owen	32
The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	Jack Santino	35
Sharecroppers	George McDaniel	40
Energy and Community	Peter Seitel	41
The Regional Community		
The Chesapeake Bay	Charles Camp	43
Smith Island	William W. Warner	46
The Festival Staff and Sponsors		48



Deer Dance, February 1977

Ceremonies in the San Juan Pueblo of New Mexico involve the whole community. Early in the morning, deer dancers are summoned from the hills with a chant led by singers and drummers of the pueblo. After arriving in the pueblo, the dancers are allowed breakfast, and a few hours later, return to dance the second part (shown here), where they make four circuits of the pueblo. They dance in the South, North, and East plazas, singing a different song on each of the four circuits. Later, the dancers return to the South plaza for the conclusion of the dance. At the sound of a gun shot, the deer scatter in all directions while the women of the pueblo try to catch them.

The gourd rattles and belts of bells around waists and legs are found in most San Juan dances; the all-white costumes are traditional for the Deer Dance. Sprigs of evergreen branches on each dancer's arms are symbols of everlasting life.

The strength of San Juan tradition is shown by a photograph taken in the mid-30's of this same portion of the Deer Dance. In forty years, little has changed in the ceremony.

Cover photo by Maria LaVigna © 1978. Old photo: T. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy Museum of New Mexico.



The Folklife Festival: *In Search of Community*

S. Dillon Ripley

What binds us together in communities? Food? danger? the scientific method? jobs? songs? stories? age? language? sex? color? love? geography? Why the quest for community and the need for roots and multiple identities? This is an invitation for you to commune with us again—on the Mall and in the halls of the Smithsonian—to find some answers to these fascinating questions which affect all of our personal lives. With the 1978 Festival of American Folklife, the Smithsonian starts a five-year cycle of variations on the theme of “community.” Our scholars and guests will be demonstrating folklore as the artistic expression of community life, and the pleasure and dignity found in that process.

If community means the sharing and passing on of certain cultural and ethnic traditions, the concept provides a nearly inexhaustible source of inspiration for research, symposia and festivals. “Community” gives a focus for examining and enjoying what modern civilization owes to the skills and values of folk not yet engulfed by mainstream media and the symbols of science and city.

The way a person from an oyster community holds a shucking knife or fashions a duck decoy out of wood are intangible skills which produce artifacts that give tangible continuity to communities such as are found on Smith Island in Chesapeake Bay—a unique nearby region celebrated in William Warner’s *Beautiful Swimmers* and James Michener’s *Chesapeake*. Similarly, the grinding of corn in San Juan Pueblo and in the states of Mexico symbolizes the community bonds which cut across international boundaries. Spanish-speaking children right in the nation’s capital, dependent upon corn from boxes in the



supermarket, may tell stories and play games that reflect cultural motifs from south of the border as well as the latest TV commercials. There is no fail-safe antidote to the standardization of mass culture, but festivals such as ours help to maintain our system of cultural pluralism and the delights of diversity. Blue jean culture may now be universal. With it, variety endures beneath the denim.

In the more than a decade already devoted to folk cultures as the source of energy and inspiration for “high art,” the Festival of American Folklife has dealt only implicitly with the idea of community and how traditions are transmitted—through the generations, through occupations, and from the Old World to the New World. Thanks to the reverberating appeal of the Smithsonian’s 1976-1977 education program and symposium, “Kin and Communities: The Peopling of America,” soon to be published as a book, we have discovered that we have only grazed the surface in trying to understand communities, including

families, as the basic units of society.

Communities involve people who are kin to each other and their relationships with people who are not kin, but who—because of their shared food, dance, crafting of musical instruments and utensils, games, songs and stories—have a sense of being kin. Kinship, as all know, does not mean being alike. Relatives, Margaret Mead once observed, are people you might not know—or perhaps even want to know—unless you were kin to them. Families are the first places where we learn about human variety, for mothers and fathers often demonstrate great contrasts of temperament and skills, and children often seem as though they are chips off quite different blocks.

So it is with folk culture generated within the same kinds of linguistic, geographic, or occupational communities. The songs and jokes of oil drillers and roughnecks in Texas and Saudi Arabia may have the same range of variety as the songs and jokes of coal miners in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and the Ruhr. Yet there are some interesting shared responses to these ways of drilling and digging for “energy.” These are essential to understanding the human linkages to the machines exhibited in your National Museum of History and Technology. Technology cannot be well understood without reference to the humans who design or use that technology.

Our First Lady has brought new attention to the need to stop the decline of neighborhoods and communities and the rupturing of the network of personal ties which give both order and freedom to our society. Though some localities have lost part of their identity when their place names no longer appear on postmarks, citizens across the land happily are engaged in historic and cultural preservation, involving architecture and life styles,

The Nation's Festival on the National Mall

William J. Whelan

and are seeing to it that we do not ignore our community heritages.

Reflecting earlier symposia and exhibitions, the Smithsonian Festival for the next five years will be devoted to reawakening various senses of community. For communities—whether inherited or joined—serve as a vital buffer between individuals and a world of megastates and megacorporations. They are more manageable units in which all can participate—men and women, young and old—and give some living proof of Schumacher's notion that "small is beautiful." We reaffirm that humans are important, and that we are, like plants and other animals, dependent upon communities for survival.

The Festival of American Folklife has become an important tradition on the National Mall. Thousands of Americans look forward to the opportunity to revisit this exciting program, while as many others find their first visit to be equally rich and meaningful.

The National Park Service is pleased to combine its resources and talent again with the Smithsonian Institution for another presentation. As in previous years, the Festival talks about, sings about, and dramatizes America's unique cultural story. It brings together Americans from almost every walk of life for what has been described as "the great family reunion."

This year's celebration is centered around the theme of community life. Participants reflecting a number of traditions who have made our country a strong national community give us all a more meaningful understanding of our cultural roots. On the Mall you

will find the farmer, the village tradesman, the mill hand, the poet, the artist—to mention a few who have helped to weave a unique national community.

The National Park Service is a people-serving agency. The community concept is reflected in the work of the organization throughout its history. We believe that our national parklands have a major role in providing superlative opportunities for outdoor recreation, experience in conservation education for the young people of the country, and at the same time in reminding us of our country's history and of our debt to the land of our fathers. Our involvement in programs such as the Festival which serves the entire community is typical of this commitment.

The harmony and delight that the Festival of American Folklife produces binds us together as a national community. We are proud of the Festival and what it has come to mean to America.

Welcome and enjoy yourself.



William J. Whelan is the Director of the National Park Service.

American Sense of Community: *Circling the Square or Hitting the Road*

Roger D. Abrahams

No term is closer to the center of our sentiments than *community*, especially for the folklorist. In our profession the terms folklore and community are intimately paired, for our sense of American history—indeed the story of humanity—is bound up with people getting together out of some notion of belonging to a place, a family, a work group, a region. Folklore consists of the traditional ways in which community people work and play together, and their customary forms of entertaining and instructing each other. Community is composed of people meeting regularly who have inherited or developed ways of celebrating their sense of coming together. The idea of the ideal life lived within a community has been and is still central to our values from the beginnings of our country. Even the most alienated among us feels a great yearning for living in community, even if we don't define that term in the sense of a small town, a neighborhood, or a commune.

Community differs from culture and society in many ways. It is not a disembodied conceptual term so much as one that is associated with the simplest of shapes and experiences in common, many of which, like the courthouse square, like square dancing or quilting, have become part of our national cultural inventory of symbolic forms. Nothing more clearly captures the essence of the folksense of community than quilting, though we don't give much thought as to why. Certainly a large part of the answer would lie in the social organization by which quilts were and are made—at *bees* or in quilting clubs—in coopera-



Quilts are often made by several women working together. Clara Meldrum from Utah and her daughters proudly display an intricately designed quilt that they have stitched of their family tree.

Photo by James Pickrell for the Smithsonian.

tive groups that work on a useful and decorative object together. Sitting around a frame or working individually on squares, all participants bring their materials and equipment to the encounter, and the occasion becomes one of involvement in a common enterprise. Perhaps more important is the quilt itself, for its form is so perfectly symbolic of the well-ordered: pieces carefully fitted together in squares, all add up to a giant (not-quite) square.

The point could be made in any of those numbers of ways in which the good life lived in common in communities is immediately suggested through the circled square—images of the small towns found throughout

the United States, those county seats in which the town is organized around the central square with its courthouse or commons, the park with its pond and bandstand. This was the small-town enclosure from which the generation of runaways sought to escape early in the century, and to which so many are returning in one way or another today. Or, to go to an even earlier and more utopian time, it is the earthly city on the hill in New England centering on the meeting house in the commons, itself an imposingly spare statement of virtue through equality and election.

Or one more moving image of this life and its values: the square dance, or the play party, as it was called in those places in which dancing and playing string instruments were regarded as cavorting with the Devil. This perfect image of community engages eight people in couples facing the center, dancing in place for a time and then leaving home in order to do the figures that circle the square—their point of reference and destination throughout: *back home*. This depiction of vitality and form invokes the facing inward of the whole group, the engagement of moving together in ensemble effects, being guided by outside calls reacted to within the group as a means of coordination as well as individualization—for the dancers find themselves on their own and away from home, but with a learned sense of where and how they are going and approximately where they will all end up.

This squared-world-within-the-circle is not just an ideal image we brought with us from the Old World; it also provided the basic models for what the farm and the plantation should look like. It is a vision that remains tied to the land, to farming and related occupations, and to the passage of the seasons as experienced by gardening peoples. The plantation,

Roger D. Abrahams is currently the President of the American Folklore Society. At the University of Texas, Austin, he is Chairman of the English Department and on the faculty of the Anthropology Department. He has served on the Smithsonian Council and currently serves on the Smithsonian's Folklife Advisory Council.



The folksense of community is captured by Festival visitors and participants joining together in dance.

Photo by Sam Sweezy for the Smithsonian.

whether in its New England or southern form, was the utopian attempt to construct the perfect community on the model of the enclosed garden. Both forms looked for a bill in which a view could be found that commanded the surrounding area. In New England, the meeting house and the commons would be put on this spot, surrounded by the houses of the faithful. By facing on the place of meeting and on the common ground, they might run their own affairs by congregation within the family. The southern plantation, too, was based on similar square principles, with its great house at the center, the works surrounding it, then the fields, and in the distance (nevertheless usually visible from the verandah), the wilderness out of which this new garden had been rescued.

But from the inception of this utopian adventure, another community, another sense of the virtuous life, was projected—that of the pilgrim-stranger, cast onto the road of life to seek his way to the city. This gathering

of fugitives produced the fellowship of the road and—from the squared-up social world's point of view—all too often the community of the damned. To be sure we are a nation of farmers in our first conception of ourselves, but farmers already tied to the idea of producing surplus crops for the folks in the city. Thus, even in the most successful of the utopian farming enterprises, there had to be go-betweens, the traders and factors, and with them the drifters and wharf-rats that inevitably accompany the movement of goods and people.

In our sentimental wish to recapture our agrarian ideals through a return to the country and to harmonize ourselves through the rhythm of the seasons, we forget this other community that has been as important a source of our national iconography as the farm and the small town. The lore which grew out of the crossroads, the harbor roads, the rivers and canals, and the turnpikes remains with us in the figures of the cowboy, the railroad engineer, the trucker and the outlaw bikers (motorcyclists). Just as the square forms reflect the rhythms and engagement with the earth in all its seasons, the straight forms of the road

and the turnpike, the highway and now the skyway remind us that another enduring image of the life well-lived endures. This one emphasizes the individual rather than the group, to be sure, but the lure of the hobo and the candler, as well as the railroadman, the trucker and the airline attendant reminds us that these, too, are communities, groups who share the conditions of being on the move all of the time.

It is this special blend of the straight and the square, the individual on the move and the community always ready to make welcome that seems most characteristic of the American Experience. Community, then, is the gathering of the like-minded, but always leaves the choice of moving on to the next gathering. If technological developments have made it possible to move on more regularly and to keep on the go even while maintaining one's sense of a need for rootedness, our ideals of community remain the same. Communities continue to spring up all over the country, in marinas and country clubs and mobile home parks, always guided by the same desires and lodged in some version of the same basic images.

In and Out of Time: Festivals, Liminality and Communitas

Victor Turner

Victor Turner, internationally known anthropologist and University of Chicago faculty member, has long studied rituals, carnivals, pilgrimages, and celebrations. Some of his major contributions to contemporary thought derive from his analysis of these kinds of events.

Although festivals have been celebrated throughout history to fulfill human needs, anthropologists have only recently begun to analyze their functions in contemporary societies. Dr. Turner's work ranks in the forefront of this movement.

Briefly, Turner sees these occasions and events like them as existing both in and out of the regular structure of society. In our daily lives, we fill certain social roles (husband, father, employee, etc.) and live according to social norms that structure our daily activities: how we eat, how we dress, etc. Festivals, carnivals, and other large social celebrations provide an arena in which we do not subscribe to our regular social roles. We meet with people we may not ordinarily meet with, and deal with others differently from the way we normally would. For instance, if you met your boss at a New Year's Eve party, you would talk to him much less formally than you would at work.

Turner calls this phenomenon "anti-structure" or, to use his more popular term, "communitas." When people are "outside" their regular social roles, while at a festival, or between roles during a rite of transition (e.g. a man during his wedding ceremony is neither "single" nor "married"), Dr. Turner characterizes them as "liminal," that is, "betwixt and between" their regular social roles. Communitas most often occurs when there is a congregation of liminal people, and conversely, liminality is a primary condition for this generation of the feelings of oneness and flow that characterize "communitas" or community.

The 1978 Festival of American Folklife is in a sense an example of liminality, a gathering together of many, often disparate, communities for the purpose of meeting together and enjoying themselves apart from their usual social roles.

—Jack Santino, *Staff Folklorist*

Liminality

Liminal people or "threshold people" are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.

Victor Turner has conducted fieldwork in Northern Rhodesia through the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research. He is presently a member of the faculty of the Committee for Social Thought at the University of Chicago and a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the University of Virginia. He has written over 50 scholarly books and articles.

As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon.

Communitas

What is interesting about liminal phenomena for our present purposes is the blend they offer of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and com-

radeship. We are presented, in rites of transition, with a "moment in and out of time," and in and out of secular

Communitas is a fact of everyone's experience . . .

social structure, which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties. It is as though there are here two major "models" for human interrelatedness. The first is of society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of "more" or "less." The second, which emerges recognizably in the liminal period, is of society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders.

Spontaneous communitas is a phase, a moment, not a permanent condition.

Liminality implies that the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low. No doubt something of this thinking, a few years ago, lay behind Prince Philip's decision to send his son, the heir apparent to the British throne, to a bush school in Australia for a time, where he could learn how "to rough it."

Spontaneous *communitas* may arise unpredictably at any time between human beings who are institutionally reckoned or defined as members of any or all kinds of social groupings, or of none. Just as in preliterate society the social and individual developmental cycles are punctuated by more or less prolonged instants of ritually guarded and stimulated liminality, each with its core of potential *communitas*, so the phase structure of social life in complex societies is also punctuated, but without institutionalized provocations and safeguards, by innumerable instants of spontaneous *communitas*.

But there is no specific social form that is held to express spontaneous *communitas*. Rather is it expected best to arise in the intervals between incumbencies of social positions and statuses, in what used to be known as "the interstices of the social structure." In complex industrialized societies, we still find traces in the liturgies of churches and other religious organizations of institutionalized attempts to prepare for the coming of spontaneous *communitas*. This modality of relationship, however, appears to flourish best in spontaneously liminal situations—phases betwixt and between states where social-structural role-playing is dominant, and especially between status equals.

... there is no specific social form that is held to express spontaneous *communitas*.

Spontaneous *communitas* is a phase, a moment, not a permanent condition. The moment a digging stick is set in the earth, a colt broken in, a pack of wolves defended against, or a human enemy set by his heels, we have the germs of a social structure. This is not merely the set of chains in which men everywhere are, but the very cultural means that preserve the dignity and liberty, as well as the bodily existence, of every man, woman, and child. There may be manifold imperfections in the structural means employed and the ways in which they are used, but, since the beginnings of prehistory, the evidence suggests that such means are what makes man most

evidently man. This is not to say that spontaneous *communitas* is merely "nature." Spontaneous *communitas* is nature in dialogue with structure, married to it as a woman is married to a man. Together they make up one stream of life, the one affluent supplying power, the other alluvial fertility.

Liminal people . . . are neither here nor there; they are . . . between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony.

Communitas is a fact of everyone's experience, yet it has almost never been regarded as a reputable or coherent object of study by social scientists. It is, however, central to religion, literature, drama, and art, and its traces may be found deeply engraven in law, ethics, kinship, and even economics. It becomes visible in tribal rites of passage, in millenarian movements, in monasteries, in the counter-culture, and on countless informal occasions.

Major liminal situations are occasions on which a society takes cognizance of itself, or rather where, in an interval between their incumbency of specific fixed positions, members of that society may obtain an approximation, however limited, to a global view of man's place in the cosmos and his relations with other classes of visible and invisible entities. Also, importantly, in myth and ritual an individual undergoing passage may learn the total pattern of social relations involved in his transition and how it changes. He may, therefore, learn about social structure in *communitas*.

Now men who are heavily involved in jural-political, overt, and conscious structure are not free to meditate and speculate on the combinations and oppositions of thought; they are themselves too crucially involved in the combinations and oppositions of social and political structure and stratification. They are in the heat of the battle, in the "arena," competing for office, participating in feuds, factions, and coalitions. This involvement entails such affects as anxiety, aggression, envy, fear, exultation, an

emotional flooding which does not encourage either rational or wise reflection. But in ritual liminality they are placed, so to speak, outside the total system and its conflicts; transiently, they become men apart—and it is surprising how often the term "sacred" may be translated as "set apart" or "on one side" in various societies. If getting a living and struggling to get it, in and despite of a social structure, be called "bread" then man does not live "by bread alone."

Communitas is, existentially speaking and in its origins, purely spontaneous and self-generating. The "wind" of existential *communitas* "bloweth where it listeth." It is essentially opposed to structure, as antimatter is hypothetically opposed to matter. Thus, even when *communitas* becomes normative its religious expressions become closely hedged about by rules and interdictions—which act like the lead container of a dangerous radioactive isotope. Yet exposure to or immersion in *communitas* seems to be an indispensable human social requirement. People have a real need, and "need" is not for me a dirty word, to doff the masks, cloaks, apparel, and insignia of status from time to time even if only to don the liberating masks of liminal masquerade. But they do this freely.

Liminality implies that the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low.

In *The Ritual Process*, I suggested that history itself seems to have its discernible liminal periods, which share certain distinctive features, between relatively stabilized configurations of social relations and cultural values. Ours may well be one of them.

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The Festival as Community

Susan Kalčík

When the Smithsonian Folklife Program staff decided to use "community" as the theme of the 1978 presentation, they were not grafting an idea onto the Festival, but featuring an aspect of the Festival that has been present throughout its history. "Community" has been involved in the past 11 festivals in many ways.

Each participant comes from and represents a community—the community he or she lives in, or a community of people who are associated with each other because of shared traditional culture. Many Festival presentations have been community events: apple-butter making, quilting bees, or a Yemenite wedding.

Other Festival events have involved

individuals nationwide who shared related traditions but may never have met before, such as French speakers and musicians from Cajun Louisiana and French-Canadian New England.

As Olivia Cadaval, Mexican cultural liaison for the 1976 Festival, pointed out after visiting many of the Mexican participants a year later, the didactic nature of the Festival means that people hear themselves discussed through their traditions and community, and their community role is highlighted for them as well as for the audience. Some see this role affirmed; others realize it for the first time.

Their community might also be affected by the presentation of individuals and groups at the Festival. Roger Welsch, folklorist and presenter, said of his experience with German-American participants in 1975 and 1976: "In many cases, performers and craftsmen who otherwise have been ignored suddenly were

Slicing apples for an apple butter boil is a Festival event that lends itself by nature to a sense of community.

Photo by James Pickerell for the Smithsonian.

brought to the attention of their communities as artists and artisans worthy of the attention of the Smithsonian, and the question immediately arose, then why weren't they also enjoying such prominence here? It was good for both the participants and the communities."

The Festival audience also consists of community members, in the sense that all Americans share a kind of community and come from particular places and cultures. Festival-goers have often found that presentations broaden their knowledge of their own community; some learn about the rich variety of our plural culture. Others learn more about their particular community: for example, many Hungarian-Americans were surprised and pleased to learn at the 1976

Susan Kalčík has worked with the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Program since 1975. She is a doctoral candidate in folklore and anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin, specializing in American ethnicity.

Festival that there was a viable colony of Hungarians in Louisiana.

The Festival, however, not only presents or reflects American communities; it creates a sense of community—both temporary and long-lasting—on the part of the staff, audience, and participants it brings together. Sometimes people who meet at the Festival become lifelong friends. But even when people only briefly interact, the emotional experience of sharing some aspect of culture with others often creates a warm sense of commonality between people who have danced a *kolo* together or tried in vain to make a sound come from a *shofar*. This kind of community, real though temporary, might be termed “spontaneous communitas” after Victor Turner’s usage.

Why is it that communities, both traditional and temporary, are tied so closely with festivals? The answer lies in the nature of festival itself. Festivals are complex events, so much so that every individual will experience them differently. The Festival juxtaposes characteristics that are opposites: the planned with the spontaneous, the serious and the playful, order and disorder. The variety of experiences possible at a festival contributes to the sense that the Festival is very different from everyday life, and that anything can happen. One may choose to stroll through as an observer, or play a *tamburitza* and go home, or one may be caught up in intense interactions with people one has never before or might not ordinarily associate with. A common comment about the Festival is that it brings together factions within and between communities. This kind of interaction is possible because the Festival is neutral territory. “Real life” is suspended and many of its boundaries may be crossed safely.

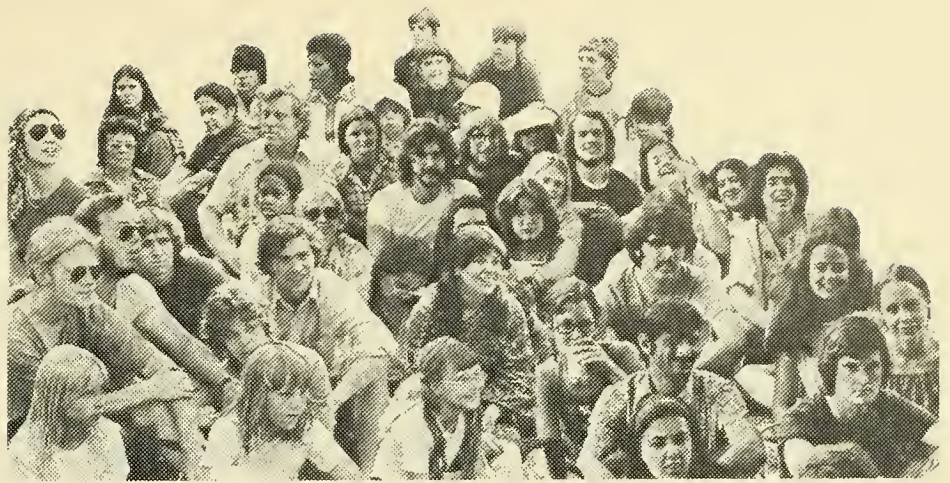
Festival is special too because it is a time set aside for celebration and for a coming together of people, whether it



A temporary but often intense sense of community is created at the Festival when participants and Festival-goers interact as this railroader and his young friends are doing, or when Festival participants from different communities get together as they are doing in this informal jam session of Virginia musicians.

Photos by James Pickerell and Richard Hofmeister for the Smithsonian.





A special kind of closeness often grows up among the various people who work on the Festival. Here a participant in the Dunham School program in 1977 gets plenty of advice from staff and other participants as he takes snapshots of his new friends during Sunday dinner at the dormitory.

Photo by Nicholas Bocher © 1978.

Boat building by a group of Native Americans at the 1976 Festival.

Photo by Paul Framer for the Smithsonian.



is an organic festival growing out of the customs and needs of a community like a parish patron saint's day, or an organized Festival such as the Smithsonian's.

Victor Turner, in his exploration of ritual, points out that two senses of community come together in ritual. One is "structure" and the other "communitas." His insights help us see that in the social ritual of festival we celebrate ourselves, the community that exists. We explore its past and the future linked to that past. But because "communitas," especially "spontaneous communitas," is possible dur-

ing a festival, we also celebrate the present, the fact and joy of our being together, and from this create a new sense of our community.

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In Celebration of Mexico Today

Ralph Rinzler

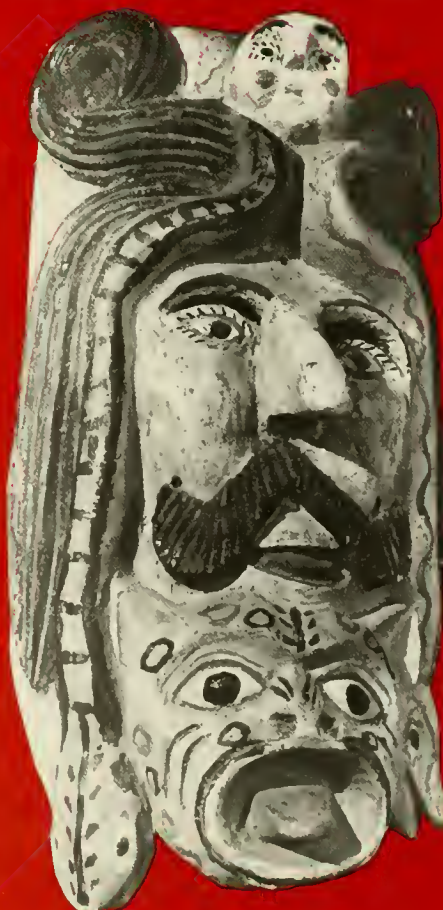
The Festival of American Folklife is pleased to present several groups of Mexican singers and dancers from the states of Puebla, Michoacán, Guerrero and Veracruz. Their performances form part of a larger United States celebration and exploration of Mexican culture entitled "Mexico Today." Several Smithsonian museums are participating in this nationwide symposium, the largest and most comprehensive presentation of contemporary Mexico ever to be organized in the United States. In the Carmichael Auditorium of the National Museum of History and Technology from Oct. 1 to Nov. 5 there is a Mexican Film Festival. And in the Renwick Gallery from Sept. 30 to Feb. 10, 1979, there is a presentation of Mexican Masks and Clay Figures, including (Sept. 30 to Oct. 7) demonstrations by Mexican artisans.

Organized in cooperation with the Government of Mexico and sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, the "Mexico Today" symposium encompasses activities in many other Washington museums and cultural institutions and in those of other cities including Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Oakland, San Antonio, San Diego and San Francisco.

Mexican folklife grows out of creative tensions present in Mexican society. Mexican folk arts derive energy from the weight of spiritual themes pulling against the levity of a rural sense of humor. Distinctive regional forms in music and crafts exist in counterpoise with growing national identities. And Spanish aesthetic values

combine with those of ancient Indian cultures to create continually developing art forms.

The Folklife Festival welcomes the Mexican performers and the opportunity to participate in a symposium devoted to increasing the intellectual and artistic dialogue among citizens of both countries.



of the modern condition—the standardization of mass culture and social fragmentation of urban industrialized society—has blurred the terms of comparison and their traditions. Technical skill and creativity are being replaced by the anonymity of the machine. In Mexico, however, the sense of community is still strong, and its folk arts are expressions of this community. Folk art in Mexico is a dynamic part of the complex life of the people and is found in their clothing, houses, music, dances and festivals. Through these media the richness and diversity of the Mexican culture continue to live.

Nowhere are the Mexican folk arts' originality and creativity more apparent than in their masks, which are an important part of their festive and religious lives. Whether made of wood, plaster, clay or paper, Mexican masks are expressions of the synthesis of spiritual and fantasy, making them among the most varied and interesting masks in the world.





For centuries the women of Guerrero have molded clay figures and utilitarian vessels which the men then decorate lavishly with birds and fantastic designs in Indian red and dark brown on the cream-colored clay.



Traditional Music of the Mexican Mestizos

Daniel E. Sheehy



Señor Pedro Ayala Sr. of Donna, Tex., is known throughout the Rio Grande Valley as the "Monarch of the Accordion." His father played and composed tunes, as he does, and his sons also follow in the musical tradition of the family.

Photo by Alicia Gonzalez for the Smithsonian.

Mexico is a land of many musical traditions. Each of its many Indian groups has its own musical systems, occasions, and repertoires. Among large-city dwellers there are many "communities of taste," ranging from preferences for Western classical music to international popular and protest music. The rural *mestizos* (a mixture of Spanish and Amerindian populations and cultures) also maintain a variety of musical traditions. *Mestizo* music, along with related traditions among Mexican-Americans, is included in the 1978 Festival of American Folklife.

The music of Mexican *mestizos* has many common roots. Language, poetic structures, most musical instruments, and many musical forms derive from Spanish prototypes imported during colonial times. Most other traditional song and dance forms stem from early original *mestizo* developments (such as the music-dance forms called *son* and *jarabe*, first appearing in the late 18th century) or from 19th-century musical importations from Europe (the waltz, polka, and *schottische*, for example). The music's base in rural Mexican life creates common musical themes, occasions, contexts, and attitudes.

In spite of these common roots and socioeconomic situations, longstanding geographic, economic, and social isolation has given rise to many unique regional musical traditions. In many cases, each region is distinguished by its own instrumentation, musical style, and repertory of compositions. Unfortunately, widespread urbanization and the expanding

sphere of influence of the commercial media have encroached considerably on the native "breeding grounds" of many traditions. As a result, some of the local traditions have been shouted out of existence by media-imposed music. On the other hand, a few have not only survived in the wake of rapid social change, but have even achieved a certain degree of international popularity, resulting in the simultaneous existence of rural, urban, and international commercialized versions of a single tradition.

Many full-time professional musicians have left their former work as small-scale ranchers and farmers, fishermen, carpenters, charcoal makers, rural milkmen, and the like. Other musicians have continued in nonmusical professions and perform music for personal enjoyment or to augment their incomes. The most urban, professional, and commercial Mexican folk ensemble is the *mariachi*. Native to Jalisco in western Mexico, the *mariachi* has become popular throughout Mexico and the southwestern U.S. Its contemporary form crystallized in the 1930s, when trumpets were added to the basic ensemble of violins, regional guitars, called *vihuela*, *guitarra de golpe*, *guitarrón*, and, in some areas, a large harp.

Closely related historically to the *mariachi* is the *conjunto arpa grande* ("big harp" ensemble) from the *tierra caliente* ("hot land") of neighboring Michoacán. The *conjunto's* instrumentation closely resembles that of the *mariachi*, but without trumpets. Unlike the *mariachi*, however, it has not been adopted by the commercial media, and remains essentially a rural tradition.

One step further south is the *tierra caliente* of the state of Guerrero, home of the *conjunto lamborila*. Mainly comprised of string instruments—violins, guitars, and a *guitarrón*—the group is distinguished by an additional in-

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strument, the *tamborita*, a small drum. The *conjunto tamborita* has not fared well in the competition with commercial music and today may be included among the many endangered species of folk traditions.

On the coastal plain of the eastern state of Veracruz, most traditional musical life centers around the *conjunto jarocho*, or "jarocho ensemble." *Jarocho* refers to the people native to the area. A harp and regional guitars called *jarana* and *requinto* form the core of the group. The *son jarocho*, practically the only traditional music from the area, is recognizable by its fast rhythm, witty texts, and a generous amount of improvisation. The *son* may accompany the *zapateado*, a type of dancing involving fast, complex footwork.

The Huasteca region to the northwest is the home of the *trío huasteco*, comprised of one violin and two guitars, the *guitarra quinta* and the *jarana*. The trio's music is similar to that of the *conjunto jarocho* in that there is a tendency to improvise both instrumental melodies and texts. Also,

the main traditional musical genre is the *son*, although among the Huastecans it is more commonly referred to as the *huapango*. Finally, another trademark of *música huasteca* is the frequent use of falsetto in vocal melodies.

The Mexican presentation at the 1978 Festival will include dancers, musicians, and singers from the Mexican states of Puebla, Michoacán, Guerrero, and Veracruz. All the groups come from the central area of Mexico where the largest concentration of colonial population settled and thus one can see a heavy, but not exclusive, Spanish influence in their music. Instruments derive from colonial Spanish prototypes, although the drum used by the Puebla group is a modern variant of the ancient Aztec *húchuetl*. Melodies derive from Spanish and other European sources, but show the distinct Mexicanization of these musical traditions. Like so much of Mexico's traditional culture, the music presented here is the unique product of its rich historical and regional origins.

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A conjunto jarocho from Los Angeles in performance at the 1975 Festival. Photo by James Pickrell for the Smithsonian.

Musica Azteca, a chirimia and drum group, participated in the 1976 Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife.





The crafts of Mexico are legendary. Every village and area has its own specialties and traditions. Folk artisans throughout Mexico create objects from clay, metal, wood, fiber and many other materials.

Guerrero Clay Animals: Among the most charming of all Mexican crafts are these clay animals which have been hand made and decorated according to ancient tradition in the province of Guerrero since the pre-Columbian era.



Metepéc Clay Candleholders: These fanciful, richly decorated 5" terra cotta candleholders are made in Mexican villages where potters reveal ingenuity and technical skill of a very high order. The range of designs, shapes and sizes is infinite.



Craft Sales at the Festival

Ralph Rinzler

In 1967 when the Festival of American Folklife was established, it was based on the premises that:

- the public would better understand the museum collections if visitors could meet some of the people who still employ traditional techniques to make objects like those inside the museums;
- the cultural backgrounds of the craftworkers would be more meaningful if they could be supplemented at the Festival by related traditional foods, music, dance and narrations; and
- that information learned at Mall events would be reinforced if books, recordings, and craftwork could be made available for sale at the Festival—items which would become part of home libraries and home life-styles.

With these goals in mind, we have brought together, for eleven years, gifted artists and craftworkers from around the world.

Each year we have prepared a program book to provide background information with bibliographies and discographies for further reading and listening related to the Mall presentations. We have gathered objects made by the craftspeople who demonstrated their art at the Festival, or by others from the same traditional background. The cultural and educational intent of crafts sales at the Festival complements the purpose of the event itself and the basic responsibility of the Smithsonian:

"the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Ralph Rinzler is Director of the Smithsonian Folklife Program.

The Mexican crafts are made available through a generous gift from Coca Cola de Mexico with the cooperation of Aid to Artisans, Inc.



Coruhush Doll: Village crafts men produce an enormous variety of toys. Often the simplest, most readily available materials are used to create articles of great charm. This coruhush doll is an example.

The Ethnic Community

When we think of American folklife, our thoughts quite rightly turn first to the wisdom, lore and lifestyles of the many ethnic groups whose members came and developed American culture and society. This year the Festival celebrates the cultural heritage of Mexican-Americans, whose hand-wrought objects and craft skills will be presented in several exhibits on the Mall and within Smithsonian museums. Another aspect of ethnic heritage is to be found at the Ellis Island presentation in the Museum of History and Technology's Nation of Nations exhibit, where members of several ethnic groups recount tales of a quintessential ethnic experience: immigration.



Mexican American Crafts and Household Arts

Susan Kalčík and Alicia Gonzalez

The Mexican-American crafts and foodways presentations will explore some traditions transplanted from Mexico and some that were developed or adapted in the United States by a richly creative culture. Both in Mexico and the United States, traditions vary widely; thus the crafts and household arts described here represent only part of the Mexican-American folk culture.

Talabartería is Spanish for "saddlery" and Sr. Emiliano Peña of Rosemead, Cal., is a *talabartero* or saddle maker. He has worked with leather since his youth when he learned to make miners' shoes in his home town of Cananea, Sonora. In northern Sonora the western saddle is common and this is the type Sr. Peña makes. His first step is to select and measure the leather needed and to cut it into the various proportions for the different parts of the saddle. If the saddle is to be ornamented, he will select a design from his repertoire and trace it onto the leather. Or he may place a previously engraved piece of leather, design side down, on the new piece and hammer it with a mallet to leave the outline he wants. Then he will engrave or tool the leather, using hammers and special knives or blades. Next the leather is dyed and later molded onto the rawhide and wooden seat prepared by the carpenter and

the tanner or *tanero*. Finally, other parts of the saddle, such as the stirrups, are added.

Sr. Ruben Delgado, a silversmith or *platero*, makes various silver ornaments used by Mexican and western saddlemakers and buyers. He often works with Sr. Peña on the design and production of saddles. He learned his silvercraft (*platería*) in Guadalajara, Jalisco. All his engraving is done by hand, working on a small anvil.

Mrs. Julia López of Los Angeles is a needlecraft artist who does much of the traditional work known in central Mexico. She does *deshilado* or open-work stitchery in which threads are pulled from cotton or linen and then reworked to create various patterns. This is delicate and detailed work which resembles lace and filigree. It is rarely done today because of the eye-strain it causes. The *deshilado* is used on everything from tablecloths to baby's clothing. In Jalisco, tablecloths are often made by a group of people, as quilts might be made in a quilting bee. Mrs. López is also noted for her cross-stitch (*cruzeta*), crochet, and filet lace or *encaje* made on a flat, tin ring. She is an artist in paper too, making *piñatas* and paper flowers.

Tallado a mano, woodcarving by hand, is the craft of Sr. Alejandro Gómez of Tucson, Ariz., a craft he has passed on to his children. He makes religious figures, *santos*, carved entirely of wood; and *bultos*, whose faces or busts, arms, and legs are sculpted from wood but whose bodies are shaped with sticks and fabric. The carved head is then cut in half and hollowed out so that eyes made of glass beads can be set into the sockets. The sculpted pieces are then covered with *Blanco de España*, a thin gesso that provides a base for later painting.

Mrs. Rosa Estanislada de Haro is a sculptor too, but her medium is a mixture of glucose, unflavored gelatin, egg white, and powdered sugar. This

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Crochet work is only one of many needlework traditions from Jalisco and central Mexico. Mrs. Julia Lopez of Los Angeles, Cal. continues the tradition, passing it on to her children.

Photo by Alicia Gonzalez for the Smithsonian.



Carving religious figures, santos and bultos, is a typical folk craft of the Mexican American culture in our Southwest. Sr. Alejandro Gomez, senior, also carves wood panels and doors. His son has adapted some of the designs from wood carving to the decorations on leather boots.

Photo by Alicia Gonzalez for the Smithsonian.

sugar paste is called *pastillaje* or *al-fenique*, and her craft is that of the *dulcería*. Her sweets are made in the shape of toys, houses, dolls, and symbols of various holidays and celebrations. These are painted with a fine brush and thick food coloring.

The crafts and household arts of our Mexican American neighbors demonstrate how creativity and the desire for beauty pervade the everyday activities of home and work as well as the special events of holidays and celebrations.



Mrs. Rosa de Haro holds a doll made of candy, an example of the *dulcería* tradition which is the making of dolls, houses, furniture, and other miniatures from sugar paste and marzipan.

Photo by Alicia Gonzalez for the Smithsonian.

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Ellis Island and American Immigration

Margaret Yocom

Along one wall of the Nation of Nations exhibit at the National Museum of History and Technology rests a narrow, straight-backed bench, a seemingly too plain and common item for a museum to preserve. However, it is not the bench itself that the Smithsonian seeks to celebrate, but rather the masses of people who, from 1892 to 1954, took refuge on it and others like it as they waited to hear if they would be allowed to enter the United States through the major port for immigration: New York City's Ellis Island. There, under the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, passed Austrians, Italians, Russians, Chinese, Japanese, Canadians, West Indians, Africans, and Australians: people from all the continents of the world. As immigrants at Ellis Island, however, they were only some of the 27,572,583 people who streamed through immigration centers across the United States from 1881 to 1930, five decades often referred to as the third wave of American immigration. They came as factory workers, railroad laborers, masons, stonecutters, and ditchdiggers, and were quickly absorbed by a country undergoing industrial expansion.

Two previous waves of immigration had already changed the face of the land that had long been in the care of the descendants of those men and women who crossed the Bering Sea to North America. The first immigrants, French and Spanish, English, Dutch, and Swedish settlers, left their names early on the land as LaSalle, St. Augustine, Jamestown, Hudson, and Swedesford prospered. With the help of Polish and Italian craftsmen, the multiple talents of the Germans, Swiss, French Huguenots, Scotch,



In the Museum of History and Technology's Nation of Nations exhibit, 1977 Festival-goers listen to former immigrants from Ellis Island talk about their experiences of passing through that immigration port at the turn of the century. Photo by Nicholas Bocher © 1978.

Irish, and the involuntary immigration of Africans, the colonies grew.

The post-revolutionary years of 1815-60 saw the second great wave of immigration. Overpopulation in many countries like Norway and China, potato famine in Ireland, and crop failures in Germany and Holland pushed farmers and artisans first toward the sailing ships, then to the steamships that headed toward the United States. Political refugees swelled the tide as revolution swept through Europe. Many university-educated men and women fled to America from Poland in 1830 and Germany in 1848 in hopes of safety.

Immigration continues to be an important part of American history. In 1978, 24 years after Ellis Island closed its gates, approximately 400,000 people will immigrate to the United States. Who are the new immigrants, and why have they come?

The rise of Adolf Hitler and the worldwide struggle that erupted in 1939 set in motion many events that resulted in the immigration of groups of Jewish refugees, foreign-born war

brides, and displaced persons and orphans. After World War II ended, thousands fled Communist takeovers in Czechoslovakia (1948), Hungary (1956), and Cuba (1960). Another battle, this time against poverty, brought Puerto Ricans, already American citizens, to the mainland beginning in 1945.

In 1965, new immigration legislation initiated by John F. Kennedy and enacted by Lyndon B. Johnson, changed the nature of immigration to the United States. Since 1924, immigration had been based on an annual quota system; only 2% of the number of foreign-born persons from a given country living in the United States as of 1920 were allowed to enter. Because the American population in 1920 was predominantly from northern Europe, the 1924 statute severely limited immigration from other parts of the world. Thus, while 65,361 Britons could immigrate annually, only 308 Greeks could.

The 1965 Act offered a system based on hemispheric ceilings. The Eastern Hemisphere received an annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrants with a limit of 22,000 persons per independent country, while the Western Hemisphere received a 120,000 ceiling without quotas for independent nations. The Act also established a set of occupational preferences and freed close relatives of United States citizens from the quota system altogether.

The majority of post-1965 immigrants come from North and South America and Asia, with the largest number from Mexico, the Philippines and Korea. Because of the occupational preference provisions, the total number of immigrants classified as "professional, technical, and kindred workers" increased significantly in the 1970s.

Along with engineers, scientists, and businessmen come the victims of

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Vladimir Obrican, shown here with photographs of his family, some of whom are still in Czechoslovakia, came to the United States in 1947 to study for a few years. But he made friends in America and married a Slovakian-American woman. The separation from his Czechoslovak family has not been easy; he flies to Europe each Christmas to see them. Photo by Margaret Yocom for the Smithsonian.

Through businesses like the Carlos Gardel Argentinian Restaurant and Metaxia and Panos Dousikos' Apollo Greek Food Store, immigrants to the United States serve both their new and their old countries. They teach their fellow Americans about world food customs, and they provide a bit of home for their compatriots. Photos by Margaret Yocom for the Smithsonian.



unemployment, overpopulation, and war. The mechanization of farms brought Colombians to the United States and the end of the revolution in Iraq brought Kurds as well. In 1975, after more than ten years of American involvement in Vietnam, the collapse of Saigon propelled hundreds of thousands of homeless Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians toward America. And today, over 100,000 small-boat refugees from Southeast Asia wait in Thailand for a new country.

It is easy to learn from facts and figures where the new immigrants to America came from; it is not as easy to discover why they came, what personal factors pushed them away from the only country and culture they knew and pulled them toward the United States. But during the Festival of American Folklife's daily workshops on immigration, visitors will be able to listen to and speak with Festival participants who came to the United States after 1945 from Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Mexico, the Middle East, and Vietnam. As these participants sit on that narrow, straight-backed bench in the museum and talk about life in their homeland,

their journey to the United States, and their years as Americans, visitors will hear the personal histories of people who contribute not to a "melting pot," but to a nation of nations. Their narratives will remind us—whether our ancestors walked across the Bering Sea land bridge, sailed on the Mayflower, survived in steerage or in the bellies of slave ships, or flew across an ocean—that all of us belong to a community of immigrants.

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The murals that brighten the buildings near Columbia Rd. and 18th St., N.W., were executed not only by Hispanic-Americans, but also by Giorgio DiPietri, an Italian immigrant from Florence who, like his father and his grandfather before him, brings color to the open spaces of our cities.

Photo by Margaret Yocom for the Smithsonian.

Seven Centuries of Tradition: the Pueblo of San Juan

Maria LaVigna

In 1598, Don Juan de Onate and his expedition arrived at the junction of the Chama and the Rio Grande Rivers in what is now central New Mexico. There he found an Indian pueblo which he renamed San Juan de los Caballeros. Since then the pueblo has kept its official Spanish name, but in the Tewa language it has always been referred to as *Oke*.

San Juan, located on a high semi-arid plateau, is the largest and northernmost of six Tewa-speaking villages in the upper Rio Grande Valley just north of Santa Fe. The population during the early 1920s was about 500, but now boasts well over 1700.

In an area inhabited for nearly 700 years the houses in the center of San Juan are constructed of adobe. In recent years, however, members have

built more modern houses farther away from the village center on reservation lands that span over 12,000 acres.

Because it is located near two rivers, San Juan has easy access to water for its irrigation ditches. For centuries, this has made agriculture possible for the inhabitants of the pueblo, and has provided corn for their staple food. Beans, squash, and, more recently, wheat, alfalfa, chili and fruit have supplemented the corn. Meat was provided by the formerly abundant game in the region. But even in this fertile valley, corn could not grow and game would not roam without the blessing of rain so vitally needed in this semi-arid region.

Despite changes that Pueblo society and culture have undergone, the traditional core of Pueblo life continues; for instance, its unique principle of social division into the Summer

A plaza of the San Juan Pueblo as it looked in 1879.

Photo by John K. Hiller for the Smithsonian.

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This symbol which is used in the San Juan Pueblo exhibit at the 1978 Festival of American Folklife is taken from a contemporary San Juan pottery dish. Typical motifs are arranged in a scattered fashion. The background is the tan color of the clay and the decorations are painted in white and brown.

Examples of the older style of San Juan pottery with its monotone coloring and incised patterns can be seen on exhibit in the Museum of Natural History's Hall of North American Indians.

people and the Winter people. This division is inherited through one's father.

The religious leaders of the Summer and Winter people are called the Summer *Cacique* and Winter *Cacique*. These ceremonial village chiefs alternate semi-annually in taking charge of the whole pueblo. The *cacique* holds his office for life, and is considered the primary authority in all matters, sacred or secular.

Besides this indigenous system of village chiefs and their assistants, an additional government structure was imposed on San Juan (as well as other Pueblo communities) by the Spanish. Adapted from the Spanish provincial government system, the village position consists of the governor and his five assistants. These civil officials are elected to office annually and are essential in dealing with secular matters and the world outside the pueblo.

Although some cultural activities have been abandoned under pressure of modernization, a traditional agricultural activity still important in San Juan is the annual cleaning of the irrigation ditches. Since some village members still engage in farming as did their ancestors, cleaning the ditches is crucial, for it insures proper flow of newly melted winter snows. In early spring, rows of men line up along the ditches, digging, clearing and burning the overgrowth of ac-



The summer home of Governor Trujillo in 1899.

Photo by Adam Clark Vroman for the Smithsonian.

cumulated shrubs and weeds. Regardless of one's occupation in or outside of the pueblo, every able-bodied male is required to participate in this annual communal activity.

Traditional arts and crafts continue to flourish through the Oke Oweenge (San Juan) Arts and Crafts Cooperative that is operated by community women. Each individual offers her time and talents in continuing arts that are unique to San Juan. Women may be seen at the Cooperative decorating the traditional red or brown pottery. Delicate embroidery on tradi-

tional ceremonial costumes, along with woven blankets and belts, are some of the finest objects produced by the San Juan women.

Ceremonies, whether from the native ceremonial calendar or from the adopted Spanish-Catholic system, involve the entire population. Unlike other Pueblo villages where rituals and dances are presented by smaller community groups, the preparation and performance of ceremonies in San Juan are sponsored by the whole

San Juan woman preparing bread to be baked in an adobe pante, the Pueblo version of the bee-hive brick oven found around the world.

Photo by Edward S. Curtis © 1905.



community. Thus, both Summer and Winter people participate in all ceremonial dances.

From the native ceremonial calendar, certain dances involve a very unique communal activity. Some songs performed during the winter season require new music as well as new song texts each year. Weeks before their performance, the community's corps of composers will gather together to create new songs for the Turtle Dance, Basket and/or Cloud Dance. These men as a group contribute to each other's songs to insure that the proper words and melodies are appropriate for the ceremony. Communal composing in San Juan is age-old, and may be a custom unique to the Pueblo culture of the Southwest.

From the Spanish-Catholic calendar comes one of the most important occasions celebrated by San Juan, occurring on June 24 in honor of St. John, the pueblo's namesake. At no other time is the village humming with so much activity. Homes are swept, painted, or replastered weeks ahead of time. A few days before the Feast Day, women may be seen baking ovenloads of bread in their *pantes*, bee-hive shaped adobe ovens. The men have already gathered and chopped cords of cotton and juniper wood to fire the *pantes* as well as the still much-used wood stoves. As families begin to prepare their extensive menus, some members may be at the *kiva*, or religious sanctuary, attending dance rehearsals for performances during this important celebration. On June 24 families welcome their relatives and neighbors and also open their homes to the many visitors and friends who have come for the Feast of St. John.

Some of these special festival foods and dances will be presented at the 1978 FAF by participants from the San Juan Pueblo, and audiences will be able to enjoy firsthand some of the traditional customs that play such an important part in the life of this community.

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Family Folklore

The Family Folklore program helps visitors discover and recognize their own particular traditions, the home-based folkways that decorate life and make it meaningful. At the Nation of Nations exhibit in the National Museum of History and Technology, a group of folklorists will interview Festival-goers about their own family customs, sayings and stories, and also about the memories sparked by the exhibit on American history. Listen to suggestions for collecting your own family folklore at workshops in the museum. Ideas for printing or mounting a family history, including free guides and discussion of interviewing techniques, will be presented.

The following essay discusses a function of storytelling in family life, and invites you to remember some of your own family stories.

Good Stories from Hard Times

Steven Zeitlin

Anyone who reads the comic strips on Sunday morning, takes a child for a walk on a Sunday afternoon, tells a family story at dinner or a fairy tale before bedtime, may soon find that these events become family traditions. Traditions may be as commonplace as the evening meal with its ceremony of carving and serving, tossing the salad, or they may be as ritualized and sanctified as a wedding, funeral, or Christmas celebration.

In some instances, these traditions are ethnic in origin. However, this next tradition is practiced in families with different ethnic backgrounds:

"We had a tradition just in our immediate family that I really liked. My father

died about five years ago but we still carry it on. On my brother's birthday and on my birthday, the family always has dinner together. And Dad used to sit down with a drink and recount the day of our birth: what happened, how he felt, how my mother felt, what was going on that day. And he did it every year. You know, he'd say, 'Oh 18 years ago at this time, or 21 years ago at this time,' or whatever. My brother and I have kind of carried that on."

As this account suggests, storytelling is a particular sort of tradition, and is often part of the larger tradition of the evening meal or, in this case, the birthday dinner.

The dinner is often a time of reunion when old customs are observed, old values are honored, and old stories are retold. At the head of this table sits the patriarch of the family, flanked by sons and daughters and their children.

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The family meal is not only a favorite occasion for storytelling, but is often one of the most common topics of family lore. In a sense, the meal is an affirmation of the family as a unit.

Photo from the Library of Congress.

In American families the evening meal seems to be the most common setting for storytelling. Perhaps it is not coincidental that the emotional satisfaction one enjoys by telling stories is accompanied by the physical satisfaction one enjoys by eating a meal. In fact, families often have dinner traditions which limit storytelling to the latter part of the meal, after the initial urge to eat has been quelled a little, and relaxation becomes both physically and psychologically appropriate.

In some families storytelling is permitted only over dessert. In others it begins at the table and then moves into the more comfortable areas of the house. Sometimes a particular family member, generally an elder such as a grandfather or an aunt, begins the tale-telling activity, often with a chuckle or a twinkle in the eye. Sometimes children begin the storytelling by asking questions: what was it like in the old days, Daddy?

The evening meal is not only the most common occasion for storytelling, but food is among the most common topics for the stories. Cooking disasters, for instance, are a staple in the repertoire of the family tale-teller. Stories are also told about feeding families during the Great Depression. In one, a grandmother prepared a

Depression meal of vegetable soup and a salami. Uncle Bill, a young boy at the time, was throwing a dirty ball against the wall when he was not tossing it to the dog, King. On a misthrow, the ball splashed into the vegetable soup. The grandmother was so enraged that she threw the hunk of salami at the boy. King leaped up, caught it in his teeth and ran outside to savor it. The Depression meal was ruined.

This story does more than treat the topic of food in a humorous way. It represents a break in the storytelling routine in a literal fashion; if any stories were to be told around the table that night they certainly wouldn't after the dog ran off with the meal. Family stories do not refer to the day-to-day routine, but to specific incidents and dramatic occasions that disrupt that routine—ruined meals, burnt turkeys, not the usual fare.

Transformed into story form, the incident of the dog and the salami was repeated as part of ordinary dinner conversation. It became part of the recurring meal activities, part of the very routine it disrupted. Through storytelling, the *faux pas*, the cooking disasters, the Depression traumas, the Civil War cowards and all the other misfortunes celebrated in family stories became institutionalized; they become part and parcel of holiday celebrations, of long rides in the car, or of the evening meal. Family stories serve as a way of making the unexpected, the unforeseen, and the disastrous part of the smooth and routine functioning of the family.

Family members seem aware of this function for their storytelling. After a particularly harrowing or traumatic experience the remark is often heard, "at least it will make a good story." Or, "we'll look back on this and laugh." Clearly, the story form makes it possible for people to laugh over incidents that were anything but funny at the time. This laughter, which so often accompanies storytelling, can not be overlooked. It signals that the trauma of the original incident has been incorporated into the daily round of family life.

The most decisive break in the routines and day-to-day traditions of family life is the death of a family member. One man talked about the death of his father and the role of storytelling in the mourning process. During the seven days of "sitting Shiva" as the formal Jewish grieving period is called, the stories went through several stages. First, a period of speechless grief gave way to stories of his father as a saint; later they changed to stories of his father as an ordinary man; by the end, stories were told of his father as a trickster, a shrewd and funny man, good and bad by turns. These last were the permanent family stories that still serve to maintain his father's spirit as a force in the life of his family.

In the family, as in every community, members gather on certain occasions to share in their leisure. The emotional investment of the members often serves to transform recurring activities into a set of binding traditions. Storytelling is a particularly meaningful tradition in the family as it is in all communities. It serves not only to bring the past to bear upon the present, but to make the disruptive, disturbing and tragic breaks in the routines part of the smooth, ongoing life of the community.

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La Comunidad— El Tema del Festival

Ralph Rinzler

Desde los principios en 1967, El Festival de la Vida Folklórica Americana se ha dirigido hacia la investigación y presentación de la cultura tradicional a través de tres perspectivas. Estas son: la perspectiva de estilo enfocando sobre la manera en que cada artículo tradicional es hecho o presentado y qué marca a esa pieza como una creación dentro de una tradición particular; la perspectiva de identidad, que saca a relucir el contenido ideacional de una presentación que expresa una ética particular o acceso a la vida del grupo; y la perspectiva de comunidad, examinando las relaciones entre gente que mantienen y son expresadas por las presentaciones de vida folklórica. Hemos seleccionado la última de estas, comunidad, para el énfasis particular en el Festival de este año y en los cuatro Festivales anuales que seguirán.

La comunidad que exploramos y celebramos tiene muchas formas. Es la comunidad cohesiva, bien unida, geográficamente discreta, de los grupos étnicos y de los pueblos. Es la comunidad de trabajadores que se junta en un sitio particular ocho horas al día. Es la comunidad cuyos miembros pueden estar separados por océanos y nunca llegar a conocerse pero cuyos sentimientos comunales son evocados cuando una herencia lingüística y cultural compartida es realizada. Es la comunidad de compañeros de la misma edad que se juntan para aprender y jugar. Y finalmente, es la comunidad de la familia que comparte su sustento diario.

Nosotros exploramos los contornos y significados de estas comunidades. Las celebramos y le pedimos a Ud. que nos acompañe a tomar parte y a apreciar su valor.

El Festival Folklórico— En Busca de la Comunidad

S. Dillon Ripley

¿Qué nos une en las comunidades? ¿Comida? ¿Peligro? ¿El método científico? ¿Empleos? ¿Canciones? ¿Cuentos? ¿Edad? ¿Idioma? ¿Sexo? ¿Color? ¿Amor? ¿Geografía? ¿Por qué la búsqueda por la comunidad y la necesidad de raíces e identidades múltiples? Esta es una invitación a Ud. para participar con nosotros otra vez en el "Mall" (Alameda) y en los salones del Smithsonian— para encontrar algunas respuestas a estas preguntas fascinantes que afectan a todas nuestras vidas personales. Con el Festival de la Vida Folklórica Americana 1978, el Smithsonian inicia un ciclo de cinco años de variaciones sobre el tema de la "comunidad". Nuestros hombres de letras e invitados presentarán el folklore como expresión de la vida de la comunidad, y el placer y dignidad que se encuentra en ese proceso.

La manera en que una persona de una comunidad ostionera toma el cuchillo para abrir un ostión o modela un señuelo de la madera son talentos intangibles que producen artefactos que dan continuidad tangible a las comunidades como las que se encuentran en la Isla Tangier en la Bahía del Chesapeake, una región cercana única celebrada en el libro de William Warner, *Beautiful Swimmers* (Nadadores Hermosos) y el de James Michener, *Chesapeake*. Igualmente, el moler del maíz en el Pueblo San Juan y en los estados de México simboliza los lazos de la comunidad que atraviesan fronteras internacionales. Niños de habla española aquí en la Capital de la Nación, dependiendo del maíz en caja del supermercado, contarán cuentos y jugarán juegos que reflejan motivos culturales del sur de la frontera así como los últimos anuncios de la TV. No hay un antídoto seguro a la estandarización de la cultura de las masas, pero festivales como los nuestros ayudan a mantener nuestro sistema de pluralismo cultural y los deleites de la diversidad. La cultura del pantalón de mezcilla tal vez sea ahora universal. Con ella, la variedad perdura bajo la mezcilla.

El Festival Folklórico en la Alameda Nacional

William J. Whelan

El Festival de la Vida Folklórica Americana se ha vuelto en una tradición importante en el "National Mall" (La Alameda Nacional). Miles de Americanos aguardan la oportunidad de volver a visitar este programa emocionante; mientras todavía otros más también encontrarán su primera visita de gran valor y significado.

La celebración de este año se centra alrededor del tema de la vida en la comunidad. Participantes de un número de tradiciones quienes han hecho a nuestro país en una fuerte comunidad nacional nos ofrecen a todos un entendimiento más profundo de nuestras raíces culturales. En el "Mall" (Alameda) encontrará Ud. al campesino, al mercader del pueblo, al achichinque del molino, al poeta, al artista—para mencionar algunos de los que han formado el tejido de una comunidad nacional única.

El Servicio Nacional de Parques es una agencia al servicio del pueblo. El concepto de la comunidad se refleja en la obra de la organización a través de su historia. Nosotros creemos que nuestros parques nacionales ejercen un papel principal en ofrecer oportunidades superlativas para recreación al aire libre, experiencia educacional sobre conservación para los jóvenes del país, y al mismo tiempo recordándonos de la historia de nuestro país y nuestra deuda a la tierra de nuestros padres. Nuestra participación en programas como el festival que sirven a la comunidad entera, es típica de nuestra dedicación.

El armonía y deleite que el festival folklórico produce nos liga a todos en una comunidad nacional. Estamos orgullosos del festival y lo que significa a América.

Bienvenidos y diviértanse.

Musica Tradicional de los Mestizos Mexicanos

México es una tierra de muchas tradiciones mexicanas. Cada uno de sus muchos grupos indígenas tiene sus propios sistemas musicales, ocasiones y repertorios. Entre los de las ciudades grandes hay muchas "comunidades de buen gusto" abarcando desde preferencias por la música clásica occidental a la música popular internacional y de protesta. El mestizo rural (una mezcla de poblaciones y culturas españolas y Amerindias) también mantiene una variedad de tradiciones musicales. La música mestiza, igual que otras tradiciones relacionadas con los Mexicanos Americanos, será incluida en el Festival de la Vida Folklórica Americana 1978.

La música de los mestizos Mexicanos tiene muchas raíces comunes. Idioma, estructuras poéticas, la mayoría de los instrumentos musicales, y varias formas musicales se derivan de prototipos españoles importados durante los tiempos coloniales. La mayoría de las otras formas tradicionales de canción y baile se derivan o de desarrollos de hace mucho tiempo, originalmente mestizos (como las formas de música-danza llamadas son y jarabe, que aparecieron primero a finales del siglo 18) o de las importaciones musicales del siglo 19 de Europa (el vals, la polka, y el schottische, por ejemplo). La base de la música en la vida rural mexicano crea temas musicales comunes, ocasiones, contextos, y actitudes.

A pesar de estas raíces comunes y situaciones económicas, aislamiento geográfico, económico y social ha resultado en muchas tradiciones regionales musicales únicas. En muchos casos, cada región es distinguida por su propia instrumentación, estilo musical y repertorio de composiciones. Desgraciadamente, extensa urbanización y la zona creciente de influencia del medio de comunicaciones comercial ha invadido considerablemente los campos de cría indígenas de muchas tradiciones. Como resultado, algunas de las tradiciones locales han sido lanzadas fuera de existencia por la música que las emisoras imponen. Por otra parte, algunas no solo han sobrevivido en la estela de un cambio social rápido, sino que han llegado a cierto grado de popularidad internacional, resultando en la existencia simultánea de versiones rurales, urbanas, e in-

ternacionalmente comercializadas de una sola tradición.

La presentación mexicana en el Festival de la Vida Folklórica Americana 1978 incluirá bailadores, músicos y cantantes de los estados mexicanos de Puebla, Michoacán, Guerrero y Veracruz. Todos los grupos vienen de la zona central de México donde la mayor concentración de la población colonial se estableció y por eso se puede ver una fuerte aunque no exclusiva influencia española en su música. Los instrumentos son derivados de prototipos españoles coloniales, aunque el tambor usado por el grupo de Puebla es un variante moderno del huehuatl antiguo Azteca. Las melodías se derivan de fuentes españolas y europeas pero muestran una definitiva mexicanización de estas tradiciones musicales. Como tanta de la cultura tradicional mexicana la música presentada aquí es un producto único de sus ricos orígenes históricos.



Artesanias y Artes Caseras Mexicanas Americanas

Las presentaciones de artesanías y comidas Mexicanas Americanas explorarán algunas tradiciones transplantadas de México y otras que se desarrollaron o se adaptaron en los Estados Unidos por una cultura rica y creadora. Tanto en México como en los Estados Unidos, las tradiciones varían mucho dentro y entre los mismos estados, de modo que las artesanías y artes caseras descritas aquí sólo representan parte de la cultura folklórica Mexicana Americana.

El Sr. Emiliano Peña de Rosemead, Cal., es un talabartero. Ha trabajado con cuero desde su juventud cuando aprendió a hacer zapatos de mineros en Cananea, Sonora, su pueblo natal. En el norte de Sonora la silla ranchera es común y esta es el tipo que el Sr. Peña hace. El primer paso en su trabajo está en seleccionar y medir el cuero necesario y cortarlo en las varias proporciones para las diferentes partes de la silla. Si el cuero va a ser ornamentado, él seleccionará un diseño de su repertorio y lo calcará sobre el cuero. Luego grabará el cuero, usando martillos y cuchillos o navajas especiales. Luego el cuero es teñido y más tarde moldeado sobre la silla de cuero y madera preparada por el carpintero y el tanero; luego se añaden otras partes de la silla, como los estribos.

El Sr. Rubén Delgado, un platero, hace varios ornamentos de plata usados por los talabarteros y compradores mexicanos del Oeste. El trabaja con frecuencia con el Sr. Peña en el diseño y producción de sillas. Aprendió platería en Guadalajara, Jalisco.

La Sra. Julia López de Los Angeles es una artista de bordado que conoce mucho del trabajo tradicional hecho en la zona central de México. Hace deshilado donde los hilos son jalados del algodón o lino y retejidos para crear varios diseños. La Sra. López es también conocida por su cruzeta y encaje hecho en un aro de lata plano. También es una artista con el papel, haciendo piñatas y flores.

El tallado a mano es la artesanía del Sr. Alejandro Gómez de Tucson, Ariz., una artesanía que él ha heredado a sus hijos. Talla figuras religiosas, santos y bultos, figuras cuyas caras o bustos, brazos y piernas son esculpidas de madera y cuyos cuerpos están formados con palos y tela. La cabeza tallada se corta a la mitad y se ahueca para que se puedan insertar en las

Mexico

cuenas de los ojos unas bolitas de vidrio.

La Sra. Rosa Estanislada de Haro es esculitora también pero su medio es una mezcla de glucosa, gelatina sin sabor, claras de huevo, y azúcar pulverizada. Esta pasta de azúcar se llama pastillaje o alfeñique, siendo su artesanía la dulcería. Sus dulces toman la forma de juguetes, casas, muñecas, y símbolos de varios días festivos y celebraciones. Estos son pintados con un pincel fino y un espeso colorante de comida.

Las artesanías y artes caseras de nuestros vecinos Mexicanos Americanos demuestran como la creatividad y el deseo por la belleza se difunde através de las actividades diarias de la casa y el trabajo tanto como en las ocasiones especiales de días de fiesta y celebraciones.



El Festival tiene el gusto de presentar varios grupos de músicos y bailadores de los estados de Puebla, Michoacán, Guerrero y Veracruz. Su presentación forma parte de una mayor celebración de Estados Unidos y exploración de la cultura mexicana titulada "Mexico Today" (México Ahora). Otros museos del Smithsonian también participarán en este simposio nacional, la más grande y más comprensiva presentación del México contemporáneo jamás organizada en los Estados Unidos. En el Auditorio Carmichael del Museo de Historia y Tecnología del 1° de octubre al 5 de noviembre habrá un Festival de la Película mexicana. Y en la Galería Renwick del 30 de septiembre al 10 de febrero habrá una presentación de Máscaras Mexicanas y figuras de barro incluyendo (30 de septiembre al 7 de octubre) demostraciones por los artesanos mexicanos. Organizado con la cooperación del Gobierno de México y patrocinado por el Fondo Nacional de las Humanidades y el Fondo Nacional de las Artes, el simposio "Mexico

Today" (México Ahora) abarca actividades en muchos de los otros museos e instituciones culturales de Washington, igual que en otras ciudades incluyendo Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles, Nueva York, Oakland, San Antonio, San Diego y San Francisco.

La vida folklórica mexicana nace de las tensiones creadoras presentes en la sociedad mexicana. Las artes folklóricas mexicanas derivan energía del peso de temas espirituales en contrapeso con la levedad del sentido del humor rural. Distintivas formas regionales de música y artesanía existen en contrapeso con las crecientes identificaciones nacionales. Y los valores españoles estéticos se combinan con aquellos de culturas antiguas indígenas para crear formas de arte continuamente en desarrollo. El Festival Folklórico recibe con gusto a los participantes mexicanos y a la oportunidad de participar en un simposio dedicado a aumentar el diálogo intelectual y artístico entre ciudadanos de ambos países.



La Comunidad Etnica

Cuando pensamos de la vida folklórica americana, nuestros pensamientos correctamente viran primero hacia la sabiduría, folklore y estilos de vida de los muchos grupos étnicos cuyos miembros vinieron y desarrollaron la cultura y sociedad americana. Este año el Festival celebra la herencia cultural Mexicana Americana, cuya música, baile, objetos hechos a mano y habilidades en artesanía serán presentados en varias exhibiciones en el "Mall" (Alameda) y en los museos del Smithsonian.

Otro aspecto de su herencia étnica se puede encontrar en la presentación de la Isla Ellis en la Exhibición del "Nation of Nations" (Nación de Naciones) donde miembros de varios grupos étnicos relatan cuentos de una experiencia de quintesencia étnica: inmigración. Masas de gente, especialmente de Europa Central, entraron a los EEUU por la Isla Ellis de la Ciudad de Nueva York, a la vista de la Estatua de la Libertad, durante las cinco décadas de 1881 a 1930 que son comúnmente referidas como la tercera ola de inmigración que se estableció en América. Pero muchos inmigrantes vinieron de otras partes del mundo y entraron por otros lugares en los EEUU. Los talleres de inmigración de este año incluirán inmigrantes Griegos, Eslovacos, Húngaros, Mexicanos, Vietnamitas y Kurdos, y explorará en primer lugar las experiencias de gente que ha dejado su patria, viajando a los EEUU y se ha ajustado a un país nuevo desde los 1930s.



Siete Siglos de Tradición: El Pueblo de San Juan

En 1598 Don Juan de Oñate llegó con su expedición cerca del sitio donde el Río Chama desemboca en el Río Grande en la zona central de Nuevo México. Allí encontró un pueblo indio que renombró San Juan de los Caballeros. Desde entonces el Pueblo de San Juan ha seguido con su nombre oficial español, pero en el idioma Tewa se le es referido como *Oke*. San Juan es el más grande y el más norteño de los seis pueblos de habla Tewa en la parte superior del valle del Río Grande. El pueblo está a las orillas del río, como 50 kilómetros al norte de Santa Fe.

A pesar de cambios que han sufrido la sociedad y cultura del Pueblo, el núcleo tradicional de la vida del Pueblo continúa. Las Artes y artesanías continúan a florecer a través de la Cooperativa de Artes y artesanía Oke Oweenga (San Juan) que es operada por las mujeres de la comunidad. Cada una ofrece su tiempo y talentos en las artes vivientes únicas en San Juan; Se pueden ver las mujeres en la Cooperativa decorando la alfarería roja o café tradicional. El bordado delicado de su tradicional atuendo ceremonial, con sus cobijas y cinturones tejidos, son algunos de los objetos más finos producidos por las mujeres de San Juan.

En las ceremonias de San Juan participa la comunidad entera. Ciertos bailes implican una actividad comunal única. Algunas de las canciones cantadas durante el invierno requieren música nueva así como versos nuevos cada año. Semanas antes de la presentación el cuerpo de compositores de la comunidad se junta para crear nuevas canciones para El Baile de la Tortuga, El Baile de la Canasta o El Baile de la Nube. Como grupo, los hombres contribuyen a las canciones de cada uno para asegurarse de que las palabras y melodías correctas sean propias para la ceremonia. La composición comunal en San Juan tiene antecedentes muy antiguos y tal vez sea un rasgo único de la cultura del pueblo en el Sudoeste.

Algunas de las comidas y bailes especiales para días festivos serán presentados en el Festival y el público podrá ver de primera mano algunas de las costumbres tradicionales que toman un lugar tan importante en la vida de esta comunidad.

La Bahía Chesapeake: La Región y la Comunidad

Hace mucho tiempo que la Bahía Chesapeake se ha apreciado como una joya de la naturaleza en el área central de la costa atlántica —una región tanto linda para el turista como abundante para las redes de los pescadores. La bahía ha servido para definir la identidad geográfica e histórica de la región— de donde tradicionalmente se han diseminado las líneas de cultura.

De los estados que limitan sus aguas, la Bahía Chesapeake ocupa un lugar especial en el orden económico y biológico, siendo uno de los sitios más diversos y fructuosos para la pesca en todos los Estados Unidos. El pescador es la figura central en este orden—el elemento humano que genera la complejidad del sistema y que lo hace incomprensible. Aún cuando la ciencia moderna no puede atraer la jaiba a la red, los pescadores atrapan la engañosa jaiba, siendo un tópico de mucha sabiduría popular y legendaria. Las historias que los pescadores cuentan acerca de su trabajo, el mal tiempo, grandes capitanes y buenas pescas, sirven para describir el grupo humano tradicional y definir el modo de vida que los pescadores comparten y en el cual mantienen la comunicación entre compañeros y afuerinos.

Afuerinos no acostumbran a pensar de la gente de la Bahía de Chesapeake como miembros de una comunidad cerrada, en parte porque el folklore de los pescadores tiende a enfocar la relación existente entre individuos y el mundo natural en el cual trabajan. La dependencia que ata a estas personas juntas es sutil, pero modela dramáticamente el estilo de vida que viven y las recompensas de vivirla. Las ciudades junto a la bahía están formadas tanto como por dependencia mutua, como por autosuficiencia, así el pescador requiere los servicios del carpintero de navío, herrero marítimo, tejedor de redes, mecánico y proveedor de combustible para subsistir.

La bahía está cambiando, como toda persona y comunidades cambian, pero la identidad de la región permanece fuerte dentro de aquellos que viven entre sus fronteras. La bahía es vital para la formación de las vidas y destino de aquellas personas que allí viven, tal como la jaiba desafía al pescador a buscarla bajo sus términos.

Folklore de Familia

El programa de folklore de familia ayuda a los visitantes a descubrir y reconocer sus propias tradiciones, sus modos familiares caseros que decoran la vida y le dan su sentido. En la exhibición del "Nation of Nations" (Nación de Naciones) en el Museo de Historia y Tecnología, un grupo de folkloristas entrevistarán visitantes al festival sobre sus propias costumbres familiares, dichos y cuentos y también sobre sus recuerdos instigados por la exhibición de historia americana. Coleccione su propio folklore familiar en los talleres en la sala de recepción del museo el sábado, domingo y lunes. Ideas para imprimir o montar una historia de familia, incluyendo guías gratis y una discusión sobre técnicas de entrevista, serán presentadas.



Lugar de Los Niños

El Lugar de los Niños, abierto cada día de las 10 a las 4, tendrá talleres organizados para los niños, demostrando y enseñando tales aspectos de su folklore como aplaudiendo, porras, adivinanzas, rimas y cuentos de espanto. Este año el énfasis es sobre juegos en español jugados por niños de familias originarias de países Latino Americanos. Además de los talleres de niños, un taller de juegos Puerto-riqueños será dirigido por Marta Montañez de ARTS, Inc. de la ciudad de Nueva York.

Una tienda de artesanía será el sitio para los talleres de muñequería de cosecha usando nueces, maíz, calabazas, semillas y paja y una exhibición de arte folklórica de niños exhibiendo una selección de dibujos de su tiempo libre y monigotes sometidos por estudiantes de primaria y preparatoria de Wash., D.C. Niños y sus profesores pueden tomar papel, lápices, tableros y cintas cassette (si traen su propia grabadora) para documentar el festival y entrevistar participantes. Estos documentos formarán parte de material valioso para los tableros y para composiciones para cuando los niños regresen al colegio.

El Lugar de los Niños ha sido realizado gracias al obsequio del restaurante familiar, McDonald's Washington Area Family Restaurants.



La Escuela Dunham

No hay nada extraordinario en el aula que se encuentra tras la pared de vidrio en la exhibición del "Nation of Nations" (Nación de Naciones) en el Museo de Historia y Tecnología del Smithsonian. La Escuela Dunham, Salón 201, se parece a cualquier otra aula de su tiempo, por eso de 1915. —Esa es mi escuela— visitantes exclaman al asomarse al salón. —Así es exactamente como lo recuerdo.— Esta reacción subraya el significado de la exhibición, pues lo que atrae a los visitantes no es su singularidad sino su familiaridad. Para presentar las tradiciones compartidas de la experiencia americana de la escuela pública, el Festival de 1978 ha invitado ex-alumnos del Dunham y 5 alumnos y profesores locales. Durante los talleres diarios discutirán sus experiencias, por ejemplo, como es atender a una escuela de un solo salón, y animarán a los visitantes a hablar de sus propios días escolares. Especiales actividades en la tarde serán la enseñanza de lecciones en el aula y presentaciones de folklore de niños.

La Comunidad del Trabajo

La vida folklórica del trabajador siempre ha sido una parte importante del festival. Es un aspecto de la vida folklórica en la que la mayoría de los Americanos participan: experiencias con relación al trabajo, valores y normas que uno comparte con otros de la misma vocación y su expresión en el idioma, cuentos, chistes y otros géneros relacionados con su oficio. Miembros de una comunidad de trabajo tienen estas tradiciones en común, y a menudo el grado a que uno pertenece está juzgado por la habilidad de ejercitar tanto su aptitud como el folklore de una ocupación particular. Por ejemplo, un ferroviario con experiencia no solo sabe las reglas y procedimientos ferrocarrileros; también sabe hablar el idioma ferrocarrilero. El Festival celebra y explora esta forma de la vida folklórica Americana, y está feliz de ver el interés creciente en el folklore del trabajo, por parte de ambos trabajadores y hombres de letras.

Nadie ejemplifica mejor la idea del grupo de trabajadores como comunidad que los canteros que han estado trabajando en Washington en la Catedral Nacional. Practican un arte, una artesanía centenaria en la misma manera tradicional que era practicada hace cinco generaciones por sus familias. En el proyecto de Folklore en su Comunidad en el "Mall" (Alameda) los canteros de D.C. demostrarán este arte y compartirán cuentos con el público sobre sus habilidades y secretos, su historia y sus trabajos.

Algunos de los otros participantes que participarán en los foros en el proyecto de Folklore en su Comunidad son chóferes de taxis, marchantes del mercado, pregoneros de la calle, y músicos, todos de esta zona. Dentro del Museo de Historia Tecnológica, trabajadores que construyen órganos según métodos artesanos tradicionales demostrarán sus habilidades; y en la exhibición de "Nation of Nations" (Nación de Naciones) miembros del "Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters" (Hermandad de Atendientes Ferroviarios), un sindicato negro histórico que recientemente deja de existir, relatarán cuentos sobre los días pasados y de sus vidas con el ferrocarril.

La Energia y La Comunidad

Este año, para el segundo festival consecutivo, el Departamento de Energía patrocinará la presentación de un tema relacionado con la energía en la vida folklórica americana. Organizadores del festival enfocarán sobre dos tipos de producción de energía que ultimamente han estado al frente de las noticias — carbón y petróleo. Consistente con la tradicional preocupación del festival con la vida folklórica del trabajador, la sección de energía de este año presenta folklore, estilos de vida y música de las comunidades y familias mineras y petroleras. El Departamento de Energía y el Festival Folklórico le invita a Ud. a conocer algunos de los estilos de vida de la gente que sustrae estos importantes recursos de energía de la tierra.

Mineros y sus familiares de West Virginia (Virginia del Oeste) compartirán con Ud. su música y cuentos del trabajo en las minas y la vida en las comunidades mineras. Mineros subterráneos demostrarán algunos talentos necesarios en su trabajo y algunos tipos de equipo que manejan en la extracción de carbón bituminoso de las montañas. Hombres y mujeres trabajando en las minas forman un grupo muy unido; dependen de sus diferentes talentos entre si mismos, prestando atención a la seguridad y soporte moral. La mina es potencialmente peligrosa, y los lazos fuertes dentro de la comunidad ayudan a preservar, mantener y mejorar la vida del minero.

Los "Roughnecks" (Los Rudos) que vienen al festival de la región del Triangulo de Oro productora de petróleo de la Costa del Golfo de Texas-Louisiana son, en verdad, personas relativamente gentiles y su apodo es mas bien una clasificación ocupacional. "Roughnecks" (Los Rudos) son gente que trabaja en el piso de una torre de taladrar. Historicamente, en los días prósperos del descubrimiento del petróleo, cuando un pozo exploratorio anunciaba su fertilidad con un chisguete del geiser de petróleo, cuando los pueblos de tiendas sin piso y edificios desvencijados surgieron para albergar el influjo rápido de trabajadores, "roughneck" (Rudo) podría también haber significado un estilo de vida característico. Pero ahora los trabajadores petroleros viven igual que su contraparte en otras industrias, en las comunidades



que circunvalan la costa del Golfo. Trabajadores petroleros compartirán con Ud. sus conocimientos especializados, sus talentos, cuentos contemporáneos relacionados con el trabajo y los años prósperos a principios de este siglo, y tradiciones del pueblo de varios grupos étnicos cuyos miembros trabajan en el petróleo del Triangulo Dorado.



Festival Staff

Participant Coordinator: Diana Parker
Assistants: Anne Mercer, Susan Berry
Housing Assistant: Nan Costales
Cultural Liaison: Olivia Cadaval-Bosserman

Technical Manager: Peter Reiniger
Grounds Crew: Linda Breathitt, Jaime Cruz, Van Evans, Luis Gonzales, Stephen Green, Al McKinney, Kerry Murphy, Tom Nelson, Fred Price

Supply Coordinator: Dorothy Neumann

Documentation Coordinator: Nathan Williams Pearson

Sound Technicians: John Berquist, Camille Connolly, Nick Hawes, E. Miles Herter, Mike Korn, Greg Lamping, Paulette Peca, Keith Secola, Barr Weissman

Video Director: Welby Smith

Video Crew: Joe Goulait, Dane Penland, Betsy Seamans, Joe Seamans

Photographers: Roy E. Clark, Frederic Herter, Richard Hofmeister

Volunteer Coordinator: Irene Holloway

Children's Area Coordinator: Kate Rinzler

Assistant Coordinator: Phyllis Ward

Area Supervisors: Marta Schley, Dorothy Stroman

Energy Exhibit Coordinator: Gary Floyd

Clerk/Typist: Susan Barrow

Fieldworkers/Presenters

Hector Aguiniga, Holly Baker, Karen Baldwin, Charles Camp, Susan G. Davis, Hazel Dickens, Jason Dotson, Ben Evans, Alicia Gonzalez, Richard Haefer, Charlotte Heth, Marjorie Hunt, Amy Kotkin, Maria LaVigna, Phyllis May, Pat Mullen, Salvador Ortega, Keith Rollinson, Daniel Sheehy, Nick Spitzer, Peggy Yocom, Jean Alexander, Kate Rinzler, George McDaniels

Renwick Gallery

Office of the Director
Free Film Program

Museum of History & Technology

Department of Cultural History
Division of Musical Instruments
Department of Transportation
Office of Exhibits
Department of History of Technology
Free Film Program
Building Managers Office

Museum of Natural History

Department of Anthropology
Department of Invertebrate Zoology
Office of Exhibits
Free Film Program
Building Managers Office
National Anthropological Archives
Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies

Internal Office Support

Accounting
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OPLANTS
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Resident Associates Program
Anthropological Film Center
Telecommunications
Security & Protection
Travel Services
Exhibits Central
Elementary & Secondary Education
Horticulture
Membership & Development
Congressional & Public Information
Women's Committee
Grants & Fellowship
Woodrow Wilson International Center
For Scholars
Contracts

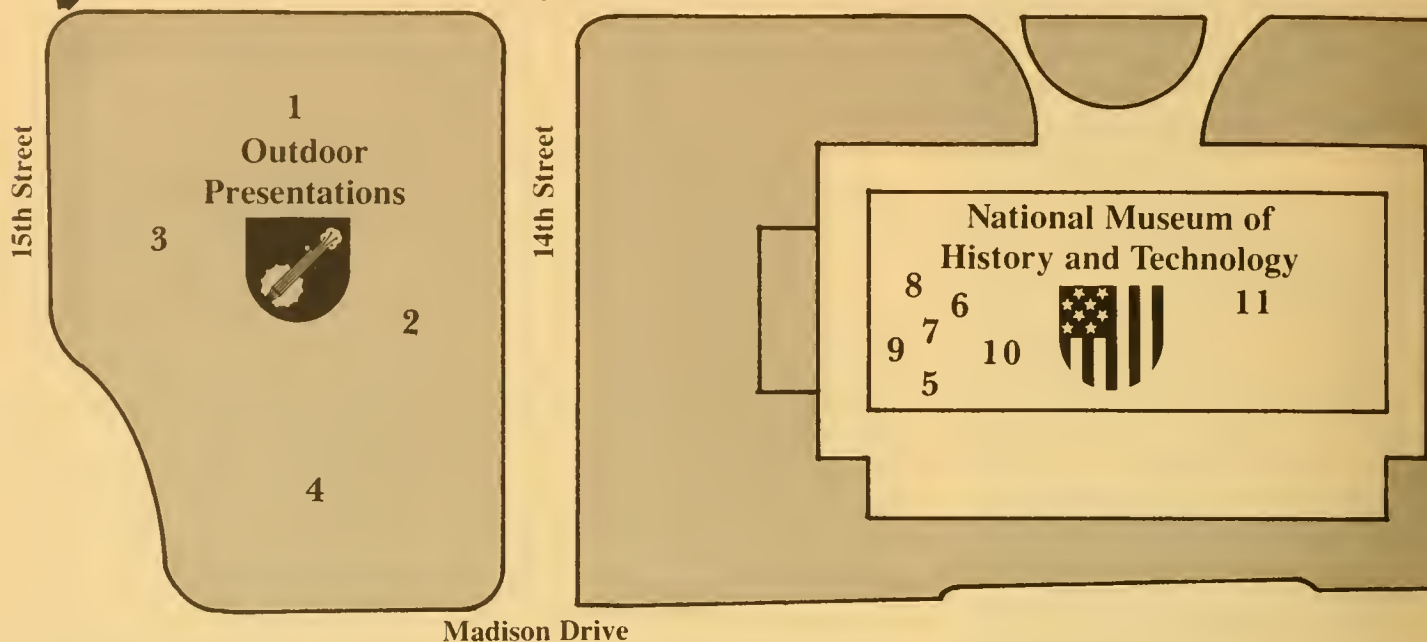
Acknowledgements

C. B. Fisk Organ Co.
St. Mary's County Oyster Festival
Aunt Em's Restaurant
Captains' Gallery Restaurant
W. Curtis Draper Tobacconists
Embassy Trimmings of New York
Forster Manufacturing Co. of Wilton, Maine
Ernest Ford
Dean Sayre
Gene Molina
Ernesto Portillo
Georgia Marquez
John West
Javier Guarena
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Walter Morris
Father Joaquin Bazan
National Coal Association
William Schmidt
Nelson Smith
Mr. & Mrs. Marion C. Marshall
George Reynolds
Michael Cook
Eliot Wiggington

► To: Renwick Gallery, 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. 14 15



General Information

Outdoor Presentations on the Mall

14th and Constitution Ave., NW

1. Coal Miners & Oil Workers
2. Children's Folklife
3. D.C. Folklore
4. Mexican & Mexican American Traditions

Museum of History & Technology

12th and Constitution Ave., NW

Nation of Nations

5. Family Folklore
6. Dunham & School Lore
7. Ellis Island & Immigrant Tales
8. Wheelwright
9. Sleeping Car Porters

Hall of Musical Instruments

10. Organ Builders

Everyday Life in the American Past

11. Sharecroppers

Museum of Natural History

10th and Constitution Ave., NW

West Parking Lot

12. San Juan Pueblo Culture

Hall of Sea Life

13. Chesapeake Bay Traditions

Renwick Gallery

17th and Pennsylvania Ave., NW

14. Mexican Masks & Ceramics
15. Musical Instruments

Festival hours

Festival opening ceremonies will be held on the Mall Site at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, October 4. Thereafter Festival hours will be from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily.

Food Sales

Mexican food will be sold on the Mall Site and Chesapeake Bay Seafood will be for sale on the grounds of the Museum of Natural History.

Craft Sales

Mexican and Mexican American crafts, books and records relating to Festival programs will be available at the sales tent on the Mall Site from 10:00-5:00 daily.

Press

Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival Press Tent on 15th Street near Madison Drive.

First Aid

The Health Unit at the South Bus Ramp of the Museum of History and Technology is open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. An American Red Cross Mobile Unit will be on the Mall Site.

Rest Rooms

Rest rooms and comfortable lounges are located throughout the Museums. There are limited public facilities on the Mall Site.

Telephones

Public telephones are located at both entrances to the Museum of History and Technology, and at each of the museums, and on the Washington Monument grounds.

Lost and Found

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved from the Administration tent located on 15th Street near Madison Drive.

Lost Children and Parents

Lost family members may be found at the Administration tent on 15th Street near Madison Drive.

Bicycle Racks

Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the museums and on the Washington Monument grounds.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival with the exception of Sunday, October 8. The Festival is served by two Metro stations, Federal Triangle and the Smithsonian station.

Film Program

Ethnographic films relating to Festival programs will be shown daily, free of charge, in the Baird auditorium in the Museum of Natural History and Carmichael Auditorium in the Museum of History and Technology.

Constitution Avenue

12th Street

9th Street

National Museum of Natural History



13

12

Información General

Presentaciones al aire libre en el "Mall" (Alameda)

Calle 14 y Avenida de la Constitución, N.O.

1. Mineros y Petroleros
2. La Vida Folklórica de los Niños
3. Folklore de la area de Washington
4. Tradiciones Mexicanas y Mexicano Americanas

Museo de Historia y

Tecnología

Calle 12 y Avenida de la Constitución, N.O.

La Nación de Naciones

5. Folklore de Familia
6. El Folklore y la Escuela de Dunham
7. La Isla Ellis y Relatos de Inmigrantes
8. Carretero
9. Empleados Ferroviarios

Salón de Instrumentos Musicales

10. Organeros

La Vida Diaria en el Pasado Americano

11. Arrendatarios

Museo de Historia Natural

Calle 10 y Avenida de la Constitución, N.O.

Estacionamiento Oeste

12. La Cultura del Pueblo de San Juan

Salón de Vida Marítima

13. Tradiciones de la Bahía del Cheapeake

Galeria Renwick

Calle 17 y Avenida Pennsylvania, N.O.

14. Máscaras y Cerámicas Mexicanas
15. Instrumentos Musicales

Horas del Festival

La ceremonia de la inauguración del Festival tendrá lugar en el Mall a las 11 de la mañana del día miércoles 4 de agosto. De allí en adelante. Las horas del Festival serán diariamente de las 10 de la mañana hasta las 5 de la tarde.

Venta de Comida

Comida mexicana se venderá en el Mall y mariscos de la Bahía Chesapeake en el Museo de Historia Natural.

Venta de Artesanía

Habrà artesanía mexicana y mexico-americana, libros y discos relacionados a los programas del Festival en la carpa de ventas del Mall diariamente de las 10 a las 5 horas.

Prensa

Miembros de la prensa que nos visitan están invitados para inscribirse en la Carpa de Prensa del Festival (Festival Press Tent) en la Calle 15 cerca de la esquina con Madison Drive.

Casa de Primeros Auxilios

La casa de primeros auxilios se encuentra a la entrada de buses al sur del Museo de Historia y Tecnología y permanecerá abierta de las 10 a 5 horas. Habrá una unidad móvil de la Cruz Roja en el Mall.

Baños

Baños y salas de descanso están colocados en todas partes en los museos. Hay servicios públicos limitados en el Mall.

Teléfonos

Teléfonos públicos están colocados en las dos entradas del Museo de Historia y Tecnología, en cada uno de los museos y cerca del Monumento de Washington.

Oficina de Objetos Perdidos

Objetos perdidos se podrán entregar o recoger en la carpa de la administración (Administration Tent), ubicada en la Calle 15 cerca de la esquina con Madison Drive.

Parqueo de Bicicletas

Acomodación para el parqueo de bicicletas se encuentra por las entradas de cada museo y cerca del Monumento de Washington.

Estaciones del Metro

Los trenes del metro funcionarán cada día del Festival con la excepción del domingo 8 de octubre. Hay dos estaciones cerca del sitio del Festival, *Federal Triangle* y *Smithsonian*.

Programa Filmico

Diariamente, se presentarán gratis películas etnográficas relacionadas con los programas del Festival en el Auditorio Baird del Museo de Historia Natural y en el Auditorio Carmichael del Museo de Historia y Tecnología.

Ethnographic Films

A discussion, often with participants from the featured communities, will follow each film showing.

Museum of Natural History E=Ecology Theater, B=Baird, ground floor

Museum of History, and Technology C=Carmichael, ground floor

	Wednesday, Oct. 4	Thursday, Oct. 5	Friday, Oct. 6
10:00		Pizza Pizza Daddy-O. <i>Children's games</i> C Chulas Fronteras. <i>Mexican Amer. music</i> B	Pizza Pizza Daddy-O C Chulas Fronteras B
10:30		The Kingdom Come School. <i>1 room school</i> C	The Kingdom Come School C
11:00		Film on Parent-Child Games and Lullabies C Agueda Martinez. <i>Mexican American Weaver</i> B	Parent-Child Games & Lullabies C Agueda Martinez B
11:30		Lost and Found. <i>Ethnic identity</i> C The Tree of Life. <i>Mexican voladores trad.</i> B	Lost and Found C The Tree of Life B
12:00		Part of Your Loving. <i>N.Y. Italian baker</i> C The Watermen. <i>Chesapeake Bay community</i> B	Part of Your Loving C The Watermen B
12:30	Destination America. <i>Immigration</i> C Film on Underground Mining E	Destination America. <i>Irish</i> C Film on Underground Mining E	Destination America. <i>Norwegian</i> C Film on Underground Mining E
1:00	The Last Pony Mine. <i>Coal mine closing</i> E	The Last Pony Mine E	The Last Pony Mine E
1:30	Part of Your Loving. <i>Ital. baker</i> C Harlan County, USA. <i>Coal Strike</i> E	Four Women Artists C Harlan County, USA. E	Four Women Artists C Harlan County, USA E
2:00	Born for Hard Luck. <i>Black medicine showman</i> C	Born for Hard Luck C	Born for Hard Luck C
2:30	John Mitchell Hickman. <i>Country banjo player</i> C	John Mitchell Hickman C	John Mitchell Hickman C
3:00	Nana, Mom and Me. <i>3 generations Jewish family</i> C	Nana, Mom and Me C	The Popovitch Brothers of So. Chicago C
3:30	The Drum Maker. <i>Native American tradition</i> E	The Drum Maker E	The Drum Maker E
4:00	Harmonize! <i>Folklore in 5 area families</i> C	Harmonize C	Harmonize C
4:30	Home Movie: An American Folk Art C The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters E	Home Movie: An American Folk Art C The Meaders Family E	Home Movie: An American Folk Art C The Meaders Family E

	Saturday, Oct. 7	Sunday, Oct. 8	Monday, Oct. 9
10:00	Pizza Pizza Daddy-O. <i>Children's games</i> C Chulas Fronteras. <i>Mexican-American music</i> B	Pizza Pizza Daddy-O. <i>Children's games</i> C Chulas Fronteras. <i>Mexican Amer. music</i> E	Pizza Pizza Daddy-O C Chulas Fronteras E
10:30	The Kingdom Come School. <i>1 room school</i> C	The Kingdom Come School C	The Kingdom Come School C
11:00	Film on Parent-Child Games and Lullabies C Agueda Martinez. <i>Mexican American Weaver</i> E	Parent-Child Games and Lullabies C Agueda Martinez E	Parent-Child Games and Lullabies C Agueda Martinez E
11:30	Lost and Found. <i>Ethnic identity</i> C In the Footsteps of Columbus. <i>Music</i> E	The Popovitch Brothers of So Chicago C The Tree of Life. <i>Mexican voladores trad.</i> E	The Popovitch Brothers of So. Chicago C In the Footsteps of Columbus. <i>Music</i> E
12:00	Part of Your Loving. <i>N.Y. Italian baker</i> C	The Watermen. <i>Chesapeake Bay</i> E	The Watermen E
12:30	The Watermen. <i>Chesapeake Bay</i> B Destination America. <i>Italian</i> C	Destination America. <i>Jewish</i> C	Destination America. <i>Immigration</i> C Film on Underground Mining E
1:00		Workshop with Native Americans and films about them** E	The Last Pony Mine. <i>Coal mine closing</i> E
1:30			Harlan County, USA. <i>Coal strike</i> E
2:00	Born for Hard Luck. <i>Black medicine showman</i> C The Watermen. <i>Chesapeake Bay</i> B	Born for Hard Luck C	Born for Hard Luck, C
2:30	Four Women Artists. <i>Embroidery, weaving, painting</i> C	John Mitchell Hickman. <i>Country banjo player</i> C	Four Women Artists C
3:00	The Popovitch Brothers of So. Chicago. C	Nana, Mom & Me. <i>3 generations Jewish family</i> C Harlan County, USA. <i>Coal strike</i> E	Nana, Mom and Me. C
3:30	Workshop: Documenting folklore on film* C The Drum Maker. <i>Nat. Amer. trad.</i> E		Documenting folklore on film.* C The Drum Maker. <i>Nat. Amer. trad.</i> E
4:00		Harmonize! <i>Folklore in 5 area families</i> C	
4:30	The Meaders Family: No. Ga. Potters. E	The Meaders Family: No. Ga. Potters E Home Movie: An American Folk Art C	The Meaders Family: No. Ga. Potters E

*Special workshop on Documenting Folklife in Film and Still Photography. Carl Fleischauer, media specialist at the Library of Congress, will show his documentary, John Mitchell Hickman, and talk about this procedure on Sat. and Mon. at 3:30 in Carmichael Auditorium in the Museum of History and Technology.

**Special workshop with Native Americans and films about them. Members of the San Juan Pueblo will watch two films, The Drum Maker and The Washoe, and discuss their reactions with Smithsonian folklorists on Sunday at 1:00 in the Ecology Theater in the Museum of Natural History.

Coinciding with the Festival, the American Film Institute at the Kennedy Center will show feature films during the evenings relating to American folklore. Their program includes Bound for Glory, Louisiana Story, Sounder, Tobacco Road and Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here.

D.C. Folklore

	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday
11:00	Music: Gospel					
11:30						
12:00						
12:30	Market Vendors	Taxi Drivers	Stone Carvers		Taxi Drivers	
1:00						
1:30	Music: Blues					
2:00						
2:30						
3:00	Hawkers					
3:30						
4:00	Taxi Drivers				Market Vendors	
4:30						

Children’s Folklife

In the Crafts tent Edna Frey Young will teach nut faced doll and corn shuck doll making.

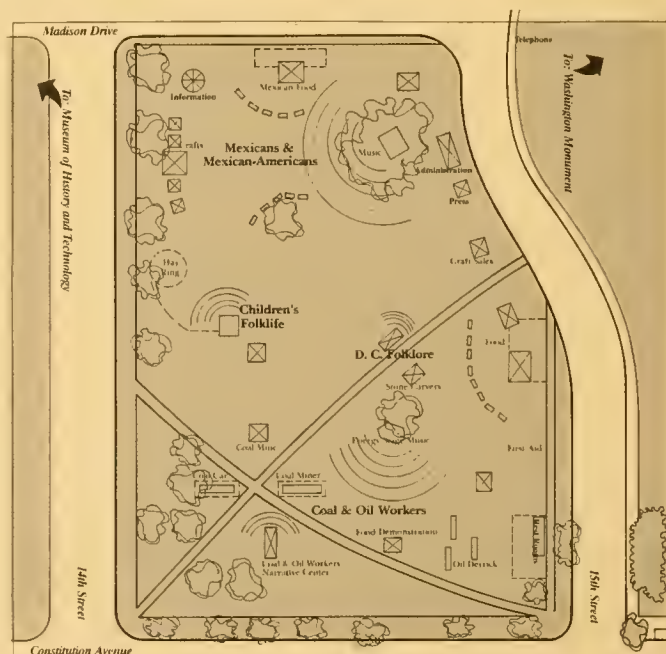
	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday
10:00	Hermina Enrique Marta Montanez Puerto Rican Games					
10:30						
11:00	Dr. William Faulkner Brer Rabbit Stories				Brightwood School	
11:30	Mt. Rainier School	Edmonds/Peabody School	Clark School			
12:00				Hermina Enrique Oyster School		
12:30	Marta Montanez Puerto Rican Games					
1:00	Parkland Jr. High	Brent School	Adams School	A.K.C. Lewis & Harrison Schools		
1:30	Watkins School	Anne Beers School	St. Rita's Parochial School			
2:00	Marta Montanez Puerto Rican Games					
2:30				Marta Montanez Puerto Rican Games		
3:00						
3:30				Girl Scouts		

Daily	Mexican & Mexican American Traditions	Coal Miners & Oil Workers	Organ Builders <i>Hall of Musical Instruments</i>
10:00	Mexican Music & Dance	Coal & Oil Equipment Handling Demonstrations	
10:30			
11:00	Needle & Paper Craft Mexican Music & Dance	Concert: Music from the Appalachian Coalfields	Narrative Workshop and Demonstrations of Pipe Building, Metal Hammering and Pipe Voicing
11:30	Mexican Music & Dance		
12:00	Candy & Miniature Making Mexican American Music	Coal and Oil Equipment Handling Demonstrations	
12:30	Mexican American Music		
1:00			
1:30	Saddlemaking & Silverwork Mexican American Music	Concert: Cajun and Zydeco Music from the Texas-Louisiana Oilfields	
2:00	Mexican Music & Dance	Coal & Oil Equipment Handling Demonstrations	
2:30			
3:00	Woodcarving Mexican Music & Dance	Concert: Music from the Appalachian Coalfields	Narrative Workshop and Demonstrations of Pipe Building, Metal Hammering and Pipe Voicing
3:30	Mexican American Music		
4:00		Coal & Oil Equipment Handling Demonstrations	
4:30		Concert: Cajun and Zydeco Music from the Texas-Louisiana Oilfields	

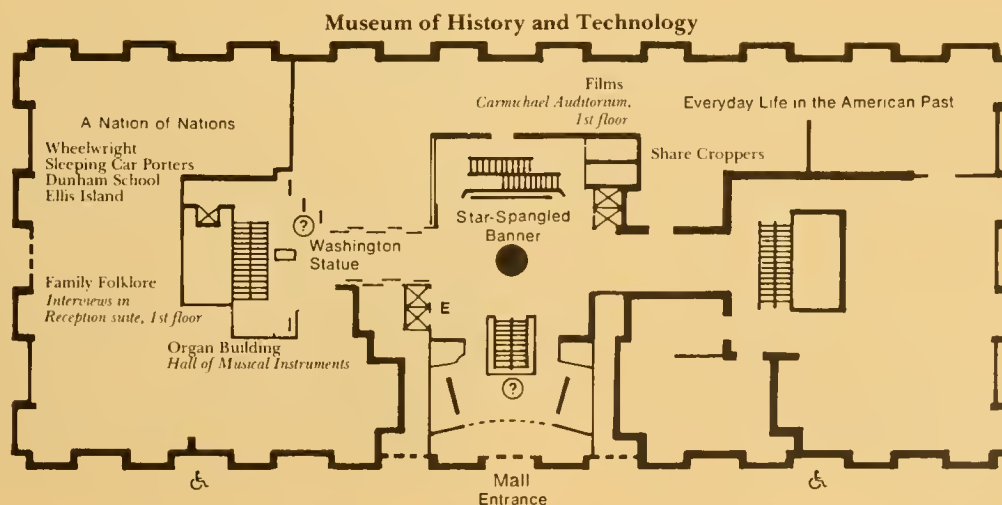
All music performances held on Mexican Stage.

All craftspeople will be demonstrating at their stations all day, and will give special workshops at times specified.

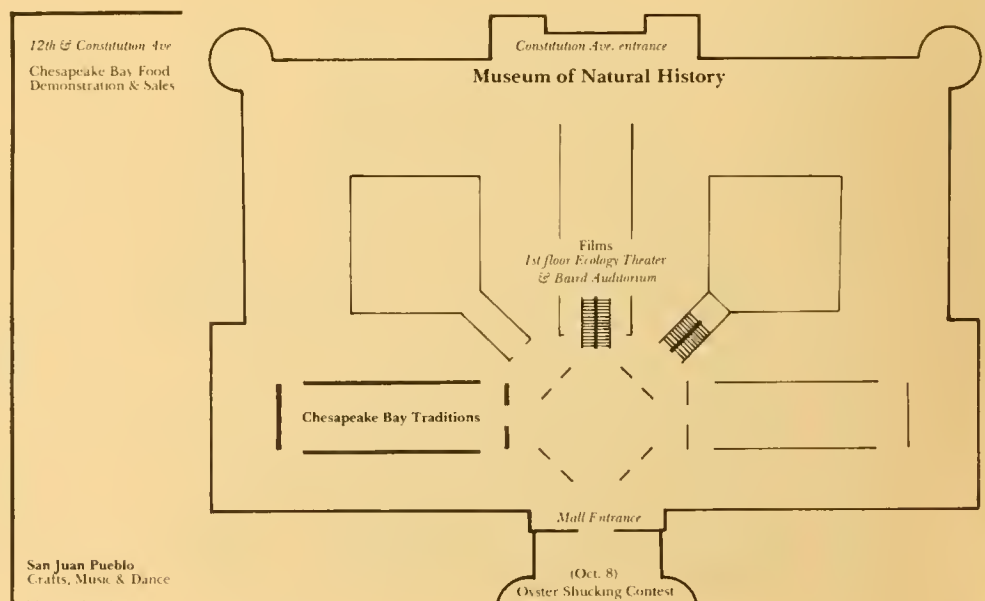
Coal and oil workers will tell stories from the coalmines and oilfields each day in the Energy Workers' Narrative Center.
Workers' skills demonstrations will be given continuously each day.



Daily	Nation of Nations	Nation of Nations	Everyday Life in the American Past
10:00		Wheelwright Craft Demonstration & Narrative Workshop	Butter Churning Demonstration
10:30			
11:00	Dunham School Oral History & Narrative Workshop		Sharecropper Narrative Workshop
11:30			
12:00	Sleeping Car Porter Narrative Workshop		Butter Churning Demonstration
12:30			
1:00	Dunham School Lore Activity	Wheelwright Craft Demonstration & Narrative Workshop	Sharecropper Narrative Workshop
1:30			
2:00	Sleeping Car Porter Narrative Workshop		
2:30			
3:00	Workshop for Collecting Family Lore <i>Reception Suite</i>	Immigrants: Oral History & Narrative Workshop	
3:30	<i>Questionnaires on ethnic and family lore may be filled out any time between 10 am and 5 pm.</i>		
4:00		Wheelwright Craft Demonstration & Narrative Workshop	Butter Churning Demonstration
4:30			



Daily	Chesapeake Bay Traditions	San Juan Pueblo Culture	Mexican Masks & Ceramics, Musical Instruments
10:00	Craft demonstrations will take place throughout each day in the Hall of Sea Life.	Craft and Cooking Demonstrations: Rasp Carving, Pottery, Embroidery, Bread Baking, Tortilla and Pozole Making. (Visitors may sample San Juan foods).	
10:30			
11:00	Storytelling: Life on the Water	Traditional Dances of San Juan (Deer Dance, Buffalo Dance, Basket Dance, etc.)	
11:30			
12:00	Smith Island: Tonging & Scraping		
12:30			
1:00	Deal Island: The Skipjacks	Craft and Cooking Demonstrations	Mexican Mask Maker Craft Demonstration and Hopi Indian Rattle Maker Craft Demonstration
1:30			
2:00	Crisfield: Seafood Center		
2:30			
3:00	Decoys and Painted Birds	Traditional Dances of San Juan	Mexican Potter Craft Demonstration and Mexican-American Guitar Maker Craft Demonstration
3:30			
4:00	Water Skills and Crafts		
4:30			



On Sunday, October 8 (raindate Oct. 9) at 11 am participants from the Leonardtown Oyster Festival will teach visitors how to open oysters safely and skillfully. An oyster shucking contest will be held at 2 pm, featuring the 1977 champions of the Leonardtown Md. Festival.

Participants

Coal

Martin Anburgey: *coal worker*—Robinette, WV
Willie Anderson: *coal worker*—Holden, WV
Donald Bryant: *coal worker*—Harts, WV
Ed Burke: *coal worker*—Charleston, WV
James Dillard: *coal worker*—Beckley, WV
Denny Rose: *coal worker*—Drybranch, WV
Birnes Scott: *coal worker*—Beckley, WV
Howard Southern: *coal worker*—Beckley, WV
Reginald Udy: *coal worker*—Sophia, WV
Leslie Wellman: *coal worker*—Dingess, WV

Oil

Casey Jones: *oil worker*—Beaumont, TX
Willard Sullivan: *oil worker*—Beaumont, TX
R. Scott Thomas: *oil worker*—Beaumont, TX

Children's Area

Herminia Enrique: *children's games and nursery folklore*—San Diego, CA
Dr. William Faulkner: *Br'er Rabbit stories*—Wildwood, NJ
Marta Montañez: *Puerto Rican children's games*—New York, NY
Edna Fey Young: *corn husk doll making*—Westminster, MD

Children's Folklore Workshops

Participating Schools & Groups

Adams School
Anne Beers School
Brightwood School
Clark School
Edmonds/Peabody School
Harrison School
K.C. Lewis School
Mt. Ranier School
Oyster School
Parkland Junior High School
Stevens School
Watkins School
Girl Scouts of America

Children's Folkart Exhibit

Participating Schools

Adams School
Clark School
Deal School
Garnet-Patterson Junior High School
Gordon Junior High School
Hart Junior High School
Langley Junior High School
Rabaut Junior High School
Taft Junior School
Watkins School



DC Folklore

Nick Arvanis: *taxi cab driver*—Washington, DC
Ruby Burnside: *taxi cab driver*—Washington, DC
Chris Calomiris: *market vendor*—Silver Spring, MD
Bob Chapman: *taxi cab driver*—Washington, DC
Paul Diggs: *hawker*—Baltimore, MD
Merle Dutrow: *market vendor*—Damascus, MD
Archie Edwards: *musician*—Washington, DC
Moe Gershlenson: *taxi cab driver*—Mt. Ranier, MD
Frank Granati: *taxi cab driver*—Greenbelt, MD
William Hines: *musician*—Washington, DC
Walter Kelly: *hawker*—Baltimore, MD
Tim Lewis: *musician*—Washington, DC
Ella Lovett: *market vendor*—Washington, DC
Alton Machen: *hawker*—Elizabethton, TN
Al Mangialardo: *market vendor*—Washington, DC
Joe Mangialardo: *market vendor*—Washington, DC
Flora Molton: *musician*—Washington, DC
Roger Morigi: *stone carver*—Hyattsville, MD
Ed Morris: *musician*—Alexandria, VA
Vincenzo Palumbo: *stone carver*—Hillcrest Heights, MD
Daniel Redmond: *hawker*—Washington, DC
Lincoln Rorie: *market vender*—Oxon Hill, MD
Charlie Sayles: *musician*—Washington, DC
Esther May Scott: *musician*—Washington, DC
Constantine Seferlis: *stone carver*—Garrett Park, MD
Greg Taylor: *market vendor*—Washington, DC
John Thomas: *market vendor*—Temple Hills, MD
Vgo: *musician*—Washington, DC
Jerry Williams: *hawker*—Onancock, VA
Larry Wise: *musician*—Washington, DC
Frank Zic: *stone carver*—Holliswood, NY

Mexico

Alberto Hernandez Carmona: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Carlos Cervantes Mora: *musician*—Michoacán, Mexico
Fortino Hoz Chavez: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Ramon Hoz Chavez: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Zacarias Salmeron Daza: *musician*—Guerrero, Mexico
Salomon Echeverria de la Paz: *musician*—Guerrero, Mexico
Raul Vazquez Diaz: *dancer*—Veracruz, Mexico
Leonardo Reyes Dominquez: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Damian Rivera Gomez: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Aureliano Orta Juarez: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Francisca Orta Juarez: *dancer*—Veracruz, Mexico
Martin Ruiz Luciano: *musician*—Guerrero, Mexico
Ruben Cuernas Maldonado: *musician*—Michoacán, Mexico
Jesus Espinoza Mendoza: *musician*—Michoacán, Mexico
Evaristo Dilva Reyes: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Nicolas G. Salmeron: *musician*—Guerrero, Mexico
Juan Taviera Simon: *musician*—Guerrero, Mexico
Jose Aguirre Vera: *musician*—Veracruz, Mexico
Ricardo Gutierrez Villa: *musician*—Michoacán, Mexico
Ovaldo Rios Yanez: *musician*—Michoacán, Mexico

Mexican Americans

Pedro Ayala: *musician*—Donna, TX
Maria Chavez: *cook*—Washington, D.C.
Lorenzo Cruz: *musician*—Houston, TX
Rosa Estanislada de Haro: *candymaker*—El Paso, TX
Ruben Delgado: *silversmith*—Los Angeles, CA
Herminia Enrique: *singer, storyteller*—San Diego, CA
Alejandro Gomez: *woodcarver*—Tucson, AZ
Agustin Gonzalez: *musician, singer*—Houston, TX
Maria Gonzalez: *musician, singer*—Houston, TX
Marilu Gonzalez: *singer*—Houston, TX
Raul Gonzalez: *musician*—Houston, TX
Rene Gonzalez: *musician*—Houston, TX
Ricardo Gonzalez: *musician*—Houston, TX
Robert Gonzalez: *musician, singer*—Houston, TX
Julia López: *lacemaker, weaver*—Los Angeles, CA
Efrim R. Michi: *musician*—Houston, TX
Emiliano Peña: *saddlemaker*—Rosemead, CA
Gerald Sanchez: *musician*—Houston, TX



Dunham School

Ronald Brown: *student*—Cleveland Heights, OH
 Flossie Furr: *teacher*—Purcellville, VA
 Evelyn Herbert: *teacher*—Dickerson, MD
 Eleanor McAuliffe: *teacher*—Silver Spring, MD
 Eliza George Myers: *teacher*—Lovettsville, VA
 Katherine Scrivener: *teacher*—Silver Spring, MD

Ellis Island

Faraidon Bustani: *Immigrant from Iraq (Kurdistan)*—Fairfax, VA
 Minh Van Dang: *Immigrant from Viet Nam*—Fairfax, VA
 Helen Fliakas: *Immigrant from Greece*—Arlington, VA
 Ilona Maria Gyorik: *Immigrant from Hungary*—Washington, DC
 Vladimir Fedor Obrcian: *Immigrant from Czechoslovakia*—Reston, VA
 Helen Samartzopoulos: *Immigrant from Greece*—Alexandria, VA
 Sandra Summers: *Immigrant from Greece*—Alexandria, VA

Sleeping Car Porters

Lawrence Davis: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 Ernest Ford: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 Green Glenn: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 C. E. Hylton: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 William Miller: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 L. C. Richie: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC
 J. D. Shaw: *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*—Washington, DC



Wheelwrights

Vivian Crawford: *wheelwright assistant*—Franklin, NC
 John Lee Tippet: *wheelwright*—Franklin, NC

Sharecroppers

Rachel Diggs: *house panelist*—Rison, MD
 William Diggs: *house panelist*—Indian Head, MD
 Clem Dyson: *house panelist*—Bushwood, MD
 Edward James Harley: *house panelist*—Mitchellville, MD
 Vivian M. Harley: *house panelist*—Mitchellville, MD
 Helen Turner James: *house panelist*—Lanham, MD
 Richard James: *house panelist*—Lanham, MD
 Elizabeth Johnson: *house panelist*—Glenarden, MD
 George Henry Johnson: *house panelist*—Glenn Dale, MD
 Elizabeth P. Merrill: *house panelist*—Seat Pleasant, MD
 Amanda Nelson: *house panelist*—Maddox, MD
 Mary Parker: *house panelist*—Oxon Hill, MD
 Octavia Proctor: *house panelist*—Seat Pleasant, MD
 James Scriber: *house panelist*—Hollywood, MD
 Luther Stuckey: *house panelist*—Pisgah, MD

Organbuilders

John Brombaugh: *organbuilder*—Eugene, OR
 Si Fisk: *organbuilder*—Eugene, OR
 David Gibson: *organbuilder*—N. Deerfield, NH
 David Moore: *organbuilder*—N. Pomfret, VT
 George Taylor: *organbuilder*—Middletown, OH

San Juan Pueblo

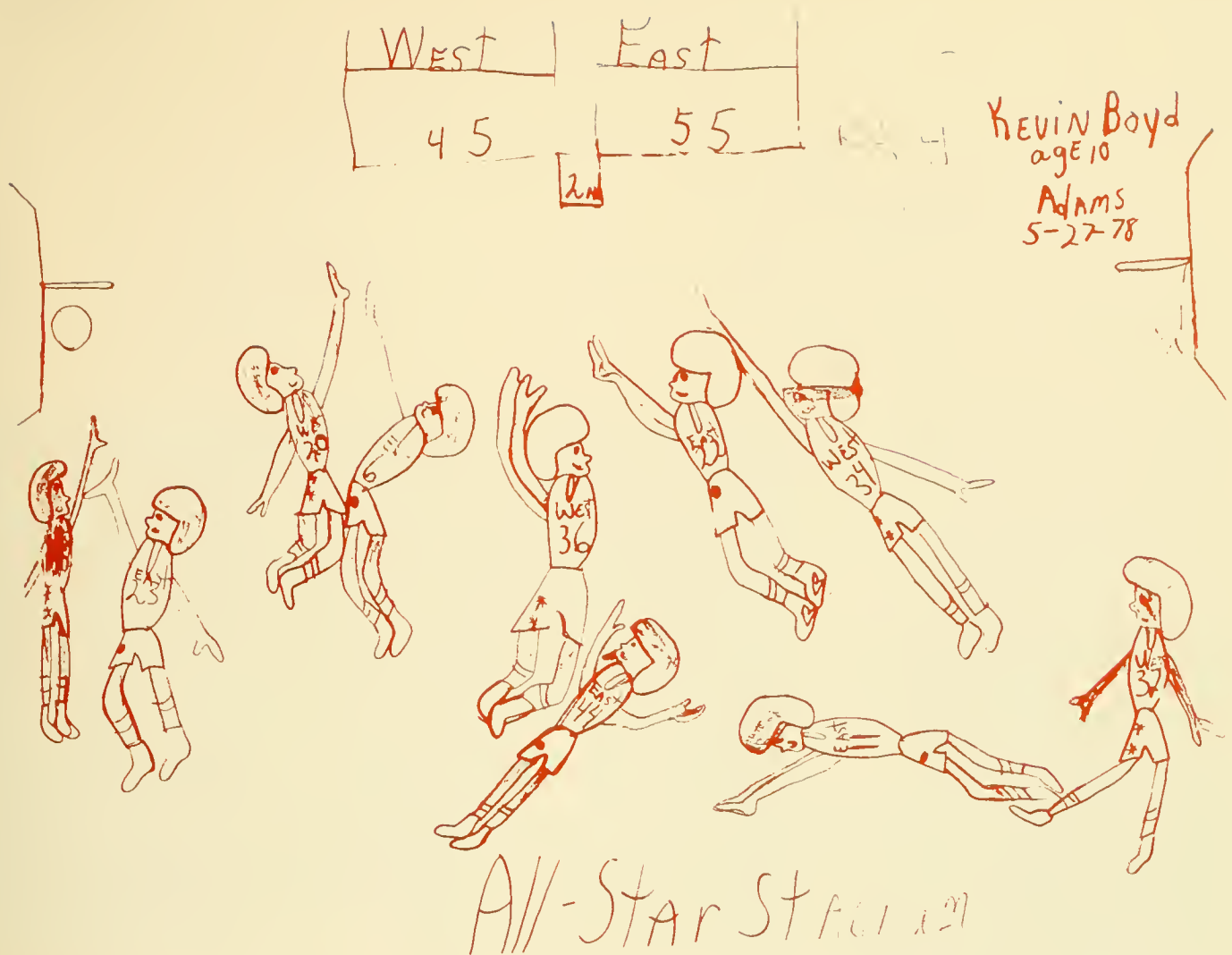
Bernice Abeyta: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Johnnie Aguino: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Juan B. Aguino: *painter, carver*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Martina Aguino: *cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Patrick Aguino: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Petrolina Aguino: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Nettie T. Cata: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Felicita Cruz: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Vincent Cruz: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 John Mark Cruz: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Juanita Garcia: *cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Margaret Garcia: *cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Reycita Garcia: *cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Peter Garcia: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Tomasita Garcia: *cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Wilfred Garcia: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Ernestina Gibson: *embroiderer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Reycita Keeyama: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Julia A. Martinez: *dancer, cook*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Artie Ortiz: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Max P. Ortiz: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Peter Povijua: *singer, basket maker*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Arnold Tapia: *singer, dancer*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Gregorita Trujillo: *pottery maker*—San Juan Pueblo, NM
 Steven Trujillo: *singer, basket maker*—San Juan Pueblo, NM

Chesapeake Bay

Henry Brown: *sailmaker*—Wenona, MD
 Frank Daniels: *boat builder*—Chincoteague, VA
 Ben Evans: *storyteller*—Baltimore, MD
 Jennings Evans: *waterman*—Smith Island, MD
 Alex Kellman: *storyteller*—Crisfield, MD
 Ernest Kitching: *waterman*—Smith Island, MD
 Frances Kitching: *seafood cook*—Smith Island, MD
 Morris Goodwin Marsh: *crab scape maker*—Smith Island, MD
 Paul Nock: *bird painter*—Salisbury, MD
 Corbet Reed: *decoy carver*—Chincoteague, VA
 Herman Stine: *model boat builder*—Wenona, MD
 David Lee Swift: *blacksmith*—Crisfield, MD
 Harrison Tyler: *net maker*—Crisfield, MD
 Corp. Fred Sherbert: *Nat. Resources Police*—Annapolis, MD

Renwick

Anthony Dukepoo: *Hopi rattle maker*—Tempe, AZ
 Ricardo Pimentel: *guitar maker*—Albuquerque, NM



Children's Folklore

If you have ever tried to ask a group of children what they are doing only to have them run away, you have encountered the community of children. A teacher who turns to write a lesson on the chalk board to the accompaniment of giggles and flying airplanes is dealing with the community of children.

Best friends, blood-bonded clubs, play groups and organizations as elaborate as the S.E. Washington Boys' Football League, are all manifestations of children bonding together to explore the unknown, to share information, to organize their play and to feel some security and privacy from the demanding world of adults. The content of their activities is made rich with children's dreams, curiosities and challenges, faced as they are with the prospect of growing up one day themselves.

Boys and Ball Games

Kate Rinzler

Children have always imitated adults in their play, enacting scenes of work and recreation. For generations, ball games have been a major community recreation. Highlighted by the mass media, ball games draw families together to talk excitedly about their favorite teams and players. Whether played by adults or enjoyed by families as a spectator sport, ball games provide images of status and success that motivate children's play. They preoccupy the thoughts of many a would-be athlete in the classroom, elicit hours of exhausting practice, provide themes of children's folk-art and give rise to feats of community organizing.

Kate Rinzler is a specialist in Children's Folklore and was the program coordinator for the Children's Area at the Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife.

The Ball Game in Children's Art

Sports events are often the subject of highly prized children's drawings. The drawings may be collected and taped to a bedroom wall or given to friends. While they often represent the expression of an individual, it was a surprise to find that some drawings represent the shared reminiscences of friends.

Kevin Boyd, master artist, and Rodney Day, his friend and artist-apprentice, explained a basketball drawing they had done together. "This was the All-Star Game on TV between the East and the West. They had chosen players to go against each other. *This* is where #22, John Drew, shoots a jump shot over Darnell Hillman and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. *These* two men are trying to get the rebound. And #20 for the West side is



trying to block the shot. Julius Erving, #6, from the East side, is trying to block #20 so he won't block the shot. And #36 for the West fouls #44, George Gervin, for the East side. And the East is leading 55 to 45."

Kevin and Rodney spoke animatedly, pleased that their classmates crowded around to hear about their private world of sports: during basketball season, they told us, they met at Kevin's house to lie on the living room floor and draw as they talked about games from memory. When they had thus drawn and dramatized the actions of their favorite players and reviewed the highlights of the game, they wrote the score at the top of the page. Kevin had a list of players' names and numbers copied from the sports page.

This kind of drawing activity (the detailed picturing of specific players, the recollecting of a particular game as it is being drawn, the writing of a final score at the top of the page, and the apprenticeship of one friend to another) exists as a tradition among black boys in Washington, D.C.

The Ball Game in Children's Community Organizing

In addition to works of art, ball games stimulate feats of children's community organizing. For example, Thomas Hicks, graduate of Hine Junior High, has been using his social skills since he was 9 years old to organize football seasons in Southeast Washington, D.C. Each summer he and his friends reconstitute the Boys' Football League of Southeast D.C., elaborating

with great imagination and devotion upon the theme of a football season. At first they had only a play group. Then Thomas signed up a neighborhood sports hero as their coach. Soon the boys decided that they needed other teams to compete with, so Thomas sought out other play groups and helped them to get coaches. The teams thus created played their season on different turfs every Saturday evening of a summer, culminating their competition with a super bowl. Over the years, teams waxed and waned; coaches, managers and coordinators came and went; but the Boys' Football League carried on.

The boys enlisted the help of their girlfriends, cousins, and families. The girls collected, choreographed and performed more than 30 cheers and put on bake sales to buy football equipment. The mothers catered a grand football banquet at the end of each season. And the boys contributed 50 cents a week to buy trophies for themselves, to be presented at the banquet by their coach.

Thomas became team historian, collecting statistics on each player and each game which, after 6 years, he typed up as the *History of the Southeast Skins*. It included articles on players' strengths and how they acquired nicknames, and photographs of players and cheerleaders.

The over-arching fantasy of being football stars infused their dreams. One boy said he dreamed strategy while another said he dreamed that he was playing for the Redskins. Their vision of themselves as stars is illus-

trated by a fragment of sportscasting from one team member who volunteered to announce for a game that was videotaped.

"Thomas Hicks is bringing his team into a huddle again. He has a good arm and a good ability to throw the ball when his team is down in the hole. Now they are having a little discussion on the field. They seem to be getting themselves together. They are breaking out of the huddle and the ball is snapped. The ball is picked up by Thomas Hicks. He's waiting for his blocking—decides to go around the end. Look at how smart the quarterback is! When the play is broken he just gets his legs together and runs it in no time. And that's the game! Thomas Hicks has just scored the last touchdown for the Jets. But the Jets have still lost to their opponents. And that's all for the day, ladies and gentlemen!"

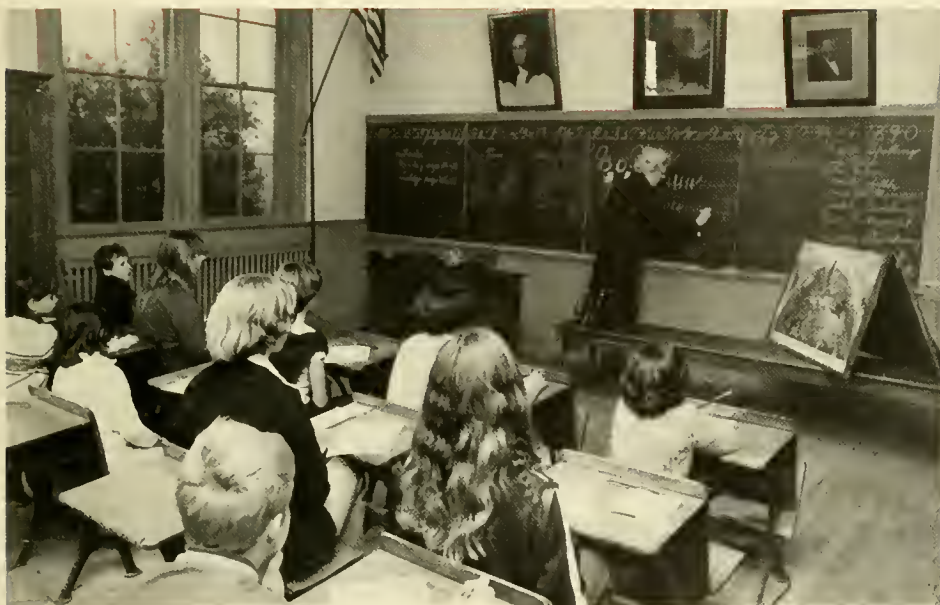
At the Festival we will be examining children's community organization and games, and you will have the opportunity to share personally in their activities.

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The Dunham School Exhibit

Margaret Yocom



There is nothing extraordinary about the schoolroom that stands behind a glass wall in the Nation of Nations exhibit. It has no specially carved woodwork, no unusual blackboard art. Actually, Dunham School, Room 201, looks just like any other schoolroom of its time with its tall, narrow windows above the radiator, the American flag displayed in the corner, the wooden desks nailed to the floor, the teacher's desk, the recitation bench, and, presiding over all, the picture of George Washington. "That's my school," visitors exclaim as they peer into the room. "That's exactly the way I remember it." In this reaction lies the significance of Dunham, for what draws visitors to the exhibit is not its uniqueness, but its commonality. And it is this commonality, the educational experience in American public schools, that the exhibit explores.

In many ways, the history of

Dunham School recalls the shifting fortunes of other neighborhood schools. As the 1800s began, school officials of Cleveland, Ohio, realized that the area around 66th and Lexington had enough children for a neighborhood school of its own. In September 1883, a brick building with eight classrooms and grades opened its doors to the sons and daughters of the whites and the few blacks, the long-time citizens and the newly arrived immigrants. Both the school and the neighborhood prospered and in 1894, eight more classrooms were added. By 1920, 955 students learned reading, writing, and arithmetic there.

The neighborhood was a great place for kids then. On the way to school, they could smell the fresh-baked bread of the Lexington Avenue bakery as they stopped to talk to the druggist and the Italian shoemaker. If they had an extra penny, they picked out a handful of brightly wrapped treats at the candy store. But one special part of the area made a Dunham child's dream come true: right across

Mrs. Kay Geraci, teacher at the Dunham School from 1926 to 1932, reminds students to sit with their feet flat on the floor, their backs straight, and their heads up as they follow through the paces of a penmanship lesson inside the Dunham classroom during the 1977 Festival of American Folklife.

Photo by Al Harrell for the Smithsonian.

the street stood League Park, home of the Cleveland baseball team, and a place where heroes such as the great Babe Ruth might be seen.

Dunham School continued to grow during the 1950s until in 1960, 2241 students filed into its schoolrooms. Then, in June 1975, when only 291 came, a much-changed neighborhood watched Dunham close its doors for the last time. The children had been drawn to a larger, consolidated school. But before the wrecking ball tore down Dunham, the Smithsonian had asked for one of the rooms.

In 1977, the Festival of American Folklife invited a former Dunham teacher and four former students to talk with Festival visitors about Dunham school days. What they said sounded very familiar to those of us who listened. Although we didn't attend the same school or labor under the same teachers, our stories and experiences have much in common—favorite or eccentric teachers, the occasional prank, recess play.

To continue to present the shared traditions of the American public school, the 1978 Festival of American Folklife has invited another former Dunham pupil, Ronald Brown and five teachers and students from the Washington, D.C. area, one of whom is Mrs. Flossie Furr, who attended and taught in a one-room schoolhouse in rural Virginia. During daily one-hour workshops, they will share their school experiences with the audience and encourage visitors to talk about their own school days. Special after-

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Included in this typical classroom photograph is Ronald Brown, who attended Dunham School 1906-14. Photo courtesy Ronald Brown.

noon activities will feature lessons in the museum's Dunham schoolroom, presentations of children's folklore, and various lessons taught by Festival participants.

Although the worlds of Dunham School in Cleveland, and a one-room schoolhouse in Virginia might at first seem unrelated, both Mr. Brown and Mrs. Furr show, through their narratives, that certain things were common to both: a real concern for the welfare of their entire community, and a closeness between families and teacher. The school served as one of the focal points of the community.

Last year as the audience and the Festival participants swapped their memories, a passer-by looked at the stage area and remarked, "What's going on here? I can't tell the Festival participants from the audience." At the Dunham School exhibit, that's the lesson: there is no difference. Whether we attended the city schools of Cleveland or Washington, D.C., or the rural schools near Purcellville, Va., we are all members of the community of American school children, and we have many of the same kinds of stories to tell. Come to Dunham and share yours.

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- Oral histories of occupations, communities, families, and individuals often contain information about pupils and teachers. See, for example: *Terkel, Studs. Working. New York: Pantheon, 1972* and *Blythe, Ronald. Akenfield. New York: Pantheon, 1969.*



School photographs are a shared experience. What did you wear for the occasion? Did your teacher fix your collar or comb your hair? Who did you give your pictures to? Shown above are Norman and Gladys Yocom from the Monacacy School near Douglassville, Pa. Photos courtesy Norman Yocom and Gladys Yocom Metka

Mrs. Flossie Furr, who attended and later taught in one-room schoolhouses in rural Virginia, stands at the entrance of the Carter School in Purcellville, Va., where she taught 1946-68. Photo by Margaret Yocom for the Smithsonian.

The Occupational Community

Occupational folklife has always been an important part of the Festival. It is an aspect of folklife in which most Americans participate: work-related experiences, values and norms that one shares with others in his or her vocation and their expression in work-related language, tales, joking and rituals. Members of an occupational community hold these traditions in common, and often the degree of one's membership is judged by one's ability to perform both the skills and the lore of a particular occupation. For example, a "rail" (that is, an experienced railroader) not only knows the rules and procedures of railroading; he also knows how to speak railroaders' language. The Festival celebrates and explores this form of American folklife and is happy to see a growing interest in occupational lore, on the part of both workers and scholars.



The Community that Works Together

Jack Santino

The sizzle and smell of deep fried foods fills the large room. Everywhere are groups of men, sitting at tables playing poker, standing in circles gesticulating animatedly, gathering by the food table with paper plates in hand, anticipating the oysters that will soon be ready. Everywhere are groups of men, talking. Always, they are talking, joking, swapping stories. They take great pleasure in each other's company, in telling dramatic tales and

hilarious incidents. They share a lot, these men. On the second Tuesday of each month they meet to do business, to cook, and share food, to play cards with each other, and to engage in storytelling. They do all of these together because they work together.

They work for the telephone company, but their situation is not unique. For centuries now, people have found both personal identity and a sense of community in and through their occupation. One identified himself as a miller, a baker, or a window maker (a *fenstermacher!*), and members of the same occupations joined together in guilds for their own protection and for that of their crafts.

The local store is the center of the Smith Island fishing community. Here watermen swap stories about their daily activities on the Chesapeake Bay.

Photo by Janet Stratton for the Smithsonian.

Today, as then, each craft and each occupation carries with it its own set of challenges that require specialized skills and knowledge on the part of the workers, and this is true of *all* jobs. The sense of community is derived, ultimately, from those skills, and also from knowledge, ability, and sharing: *knowledge* of the esoteric skills, of how to do the work well and efficiently; *ability* to carry out the demands of the job, to use the tools and machines; and

Jack Santino is a doctoral candidate in folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania and is on the staff of the Smithsonian Folklife Program. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in folklore at The George Washington University.

the *sharing* of the common experiences with co-workers. At the same time, community is derived from *knowledge* of the special language, the technical jargon, the hand signals, and the "in jokes" that arise out of the job; *ability* to use and understand these terms, to tell jokes and stories relevant to the job and also the ability to understand them; and the *sharing* of these stories, this occupational folklore, with fellow co-workers. Knowledge of these stories, the ability to tell them, and, perhaps even more importantly, the ability to understand them, is a kind of badge, a symbol of an "in group" identity. The joke "when is a plasterer like a bird dog? When he is pointing," is only funny to the layman when he knows that "pointing" is a plasterer's word that means smoothing out and putting the finishing touches on a job.

Often a novice is initiated into a work group by means of traditional pranks. How many young men have been sent off to get a "bucket of steam" or a "duberator" when they first began work in a factory or a garage? And there is the story of the new airline flight attendant who was told by her fellow workers that the first class section of the plane was going to be filled with monkeys and she was sent off to get bananas for them. She did her best to get the bananas from the catering truck, but the caterer refused to take her seriously. Finally, frustrated and desperate, she screamed, "I'm having all these monkeys in first class; they aren't giving my any bananas, what am I going to do?" Overhearing, a passenger replied, "Excuse me, but I'm one of those monkeys and I don't want a banana!"

These stories document the fact that everyone goes through a period of hazing and initiation while being incorporated into the group. As part of the group, the individual partakes of the special customs that group practices. The office workers' lunch-time whist game is one example; the Washington Cathedral stone carvers' practice of inscribing the names of the work crew on the label of a champagne bottle every New Year's Day is another.

A member of an occupational community may be known by his or her "costume"—the specialized clothing worn on the job—from the bus driver's uniform to the construction worker's hardhat to the lawyer's



Telephone workers need specialized skills and knowledge to carry out the challenges of their job.

Photo by Sam Sweezy for the Smithsonian.

three-piece suit. The customs, the costumes, the initiation rituals—all these comprise an *occupational folklife* of a group. Workers often share similar demands, pressures, job tasks, bosses, dangers, and deadlines, and they translate their day-in, day-out experiences into a kind of verbal art. They add artistic dimensions to their lives by creating and sharing stories that derive from the job and capture its essence. These stories, along with jokes, jargon, talk of the old days, of accidents, of notorious bosses and clever workers who outsmart them—these comprise the *occupational folklore* of the job. Occupational folklife encompasses the entire unique occu-

pational life-style; occupational folklore derives out of that life-style, comments on it, and helps foster the sense of community that participation in the occupation brings.

When members of an occupation can share so much, express so much of themselves and their concerns, enjoy and understand each other so much, there is community. Their folklore defines their community, and gives it life.

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Organ Building

John Fesperman

Making a pipe organ involves a striking variety of skills. A feeling of community inevitably develops among organ shop workers because each depends upon the work of the others, and each knows that no two completed instruments will ever be exactly alike. In some instances, the signatures of all who worked on an instrument will be found inside the organ, indicating the flesh-and-blood involvement of each person from start to finish.

It all begins at the chief organ builder's drawing board, where the location of every pipe must be precisely shown, and each moving part described. It continues with the cabinetmaker who constructs the windsheets and the paneled case; with the pipemakers who cast molten metal into sheets to be planed, hammered and formed around mandrels to make the pipes; with the keyboardmaker; and with the carver whose work is then gold-leafed to decorate the front of the case. In addition, hundreds of intricate mechanical connections between the keyboards and the pipes must be made, all by hand, and the bellows, which holds a large reserve of wind, must be constructed. It is only when the instrument is assembled for testing that all those craftsmen can see the total result of their many months of labor, as woodworking, engineering, metalworking, and the trained ear of the "voicer"—who regulates each pipe—come together.

Despite the complexity of the final product, many organ shops are quite small, employing perhaps only a dozen workers. Working in close quarters, always under the direction of the chief organ builder, each craftsman becomes a part of the whole, cooperating with his peers and sharing tricks of the trade. The result



Voicing Tools owned by Barbara Owen, voicer at C. B. Fisk, Inc.

Top to bottom, *proportional dividers, cutup knife (large), open pipe (string-tone), stopped pipe (chimney flute), hammer, toe hole gauge, cutup knife (small), lip tool ("butter knife"), Languid depressor ("cow foot"), lip tool ("butter knife") edgewise, tuning iron.* Far right: *3 toe cones, and nicking tool.*

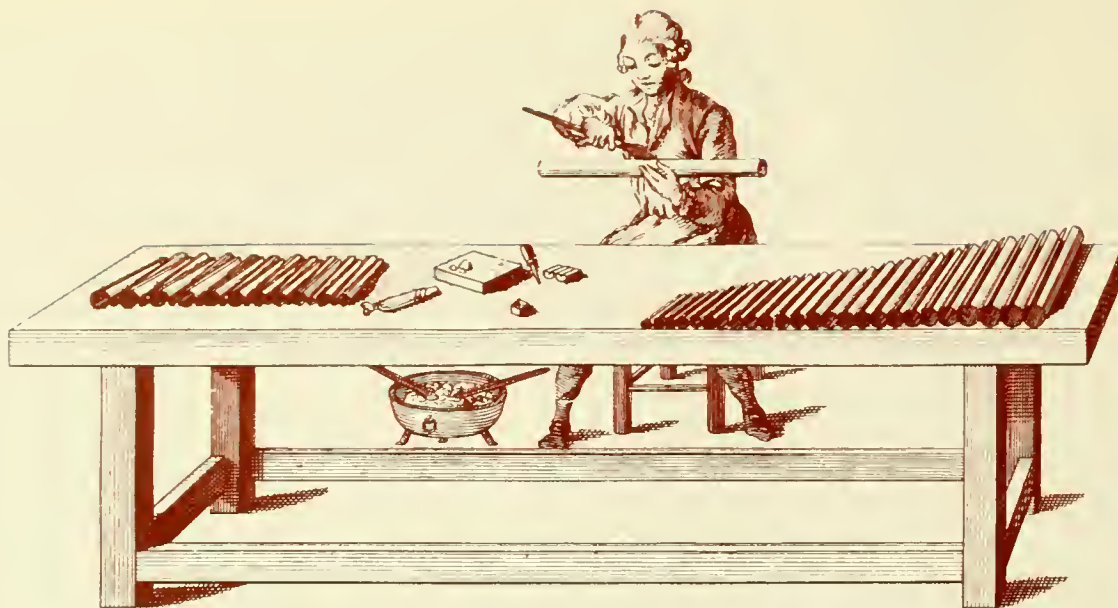
is an *esprit*, a sense of pride in the end result.

Pipemaking and the voicing of pipes are perhaps the most fascinating aspects of organ building. During this year's Festival of American Folklife, organ builders, gathered in the Hall of Musical Instruments of the National Museum of History and Technology, will give daily demonstrations of these processes, from the hammering of the planed metal through the forming and voicing of the pipes themselves.

Design model made by Chuck Nazarian for C. B. Fisk, Inc., organ for House of Hope Presbyterian Church which is an early 20th century Gothic-revival church. For most Fisk organs, a model is made before any shop drawings are prepared. Photos by Tom Byers for the Smithsonian.



John Fesperman is Curator of the Division of Musical Instruments of the Smithsonian Institution.



New Life for the Ancient Craft of Organ Building

Barbara Owen

For more than a thousand years, a colorful procession of both saints and sinners have labored at the unique craft of organ building. The saints have included learned monks and at least one reformation-age martyr, and the sinners have engaged in almost every known sin.

Many of the gifted craftsmen who labored to rear the musical monuments which still grace many of Europe's cathedrals were anonymous. Yet the names of the great master builders of the organ's golden age—affectionately called the “Old Guys”—are known and revered among those who still practice their trade: Arp Schnitger, the 17th-century North German master whose bones lie beneath the church floor where one of his instruments is still played; Alexandre and Francois-Henry Cliquot of 18th-century Paris, Saxon Gottfried Silberman, contemporary and friend of J. S. Bach; 17th-century Italian organist-builder Costanzo Antegnati; “Father” Henry Willis, who in the 19th century created the English concert organ; David Tannenberg, the Moravian immi-



Steve Boody transfers pipe measurements with proportional dividers. In the foreground are conical feet of pipes; cylindrical parts are pipe bodies.

grant who built organs in America before it became a nation; and Elias and George Hook, who later proved that Americans could build organs equal to those of Europe.

The earliest known organs were small, crude, and loud, and their uses were secular. Some claim that Nero played one, rather than a fiddle, while Rome burned. These primitive organs could produce only a single melody line, and in the 9th or 10th century AD some perceptive cleric saw the advantages of using them to

help keep unruly church singers on the straight and narrow path.

Once inside the church, the organ underwent a transformation, becoming at first bigger, louder, and more unwieldy, and then more complex. By the 15th century it assumed a form easily recognizable today. By the 17th and 18th centuries the organ had reached a zenith as both a musical medium and art form, coinciding (probably not by accident) with a similar pinnacle in the writing and performing of church music by men such as Johann Sebastian Bach, George Frideric Handel, and Girolamo Frescobaldi.

By the late 18th century, however, as the cultural and political center of civilization was shifting away from the Church, music followed to the secular world of the opera stage and the concert hall. Organs were regarded as a relic of the past. The 19th century saw a brief resurgence of the organ as a musical instrument greatly complicated by technical innovations. By the 20th century these “improvements” had become so extensive that the machinery, not the esthetic value of the organ, was of paramount importance, and musically the organ sank to a new low as an instrument of electrically produced background music.

During the past 200 years most of the old baroque organs of Europe have been rebuilt, mutilated or destroyed, despite the too-often unheeded outcries of visionaires such as

Barbara Owen is a well-known historian of organ building in the United States whose definitive book of organ building in New England is being published by the Sunbury Press.

Photos by Tom Byers for the Smithsonian. Line drawings from 'The Organ Builder' by François Bédos de Celles, published in France between 1766-78, published in 1978 in translation by The Sunbury Press.



Jill Faulds skims the ladle. As the hot metal chills, the oxides which form on the top must be skimmed off. When the metal gets to the right temperature the pipe makers pour it into the trough and "run the sheet".

Jill Faulds and Lou Dolive are "running the sheet". The trough is filled with hot metal and run down the table, a granite slab covered with cloth. The metal runs out of a slit at the bottom to form a sheet. This chills quickly and is rolled up for storage. Various alloys of lead and tin are used for organ pipes, from almost pure lead to about 90% tin. Most organ people agree that the type of alloy has some effect on the sound. Though this point is sometimes hotly debated, it is almost never ignored.





Albert Schweitzer. Also, two world wars did not help; a Gothic organ played by the composer Buxtehude in the 17th century virtually stood unaltered until the bombing of Lubeck in 1942.

By mid-20th century some young organists and organ builders of both Europe and America paused to look back over the long history of their instrument and realized that something had been lost: they set out to find it again.

What they found was the Old Guys and their accumulated wisdom. Slowly, sometimes mistakenly, and often painfully, they began to retrace, to find out what organs were all about back when people revered them and wrote transcendent music for them. They found the organs that the Old Guys had built—those that had been bypassed by “progress”—and studied and restored them. More recently, much attention has been given the long-neglected “how-to-play-it” books of 17th and 18th centuries, and the sometimes astonishing bits of information that they present to musicians accustomed to modern playing techniques.

Now we are picking up again where the Old Guys left off with much help from the Old Guys themselves, now held in great affection after centuries of neglect. The art of building a sensitive and responsive mechanical playing action, lost for over half a century, is being restudied and practiced by a growing number of modern organ builders.

We have learned that the common

Lou Dolive hammers organ pipe metal with a modern pneumatic hammer.

characteristic of all the best old organs is their singing, unforced pipe speech, possible only when the organ is properly controlled, properly winded, and stands free in the room—as organs always did until recently. The pipes of the old organs speak in eloquent detail of the voicing and scaling techniques used to achieve this warm and natural sound if one has the patience to put aside preconceived notions and pay attention to the accumulated wisdom of the Old Guys in studying them. Even the materials turn out to be critical to the sound of the pipes; tin for the silvery quality of the 18th century French and South German organs; lead for the sturdier, more fundamental quality of the northern European and Renaissance instruments—and the lead must be hammered to produce the best quality of sound.

Curiously, there is one aspect of organ building that has changed little since medieval times: the making of metal pipes. From the largest, most

mass-production-oriented factory to the smallest workshop, the tin and lead alloy is still melted in an iron pot and run out in sheets on a flat, cloth-surfaced, stone table. The metal is still cut, formed, and soldered by hand, and the finished pipes are voiced with the same tools used since time immemorial. The melting-pot and soldering irons are now heated by gas or electricity instead of charcoal, but little else has changed. And while it is now possible to obtain tin and lead free of impurities, it turns out that the old impure metal made better pipes, and thus modern pipemakers must add calculated amounts of copper, antimony, and bismuth to their mixture to insure the desired results.

Today, the people who pay the greatest respect to the Old Guys are often young guys. Most of them are intelligent, highly skilled, and well-educated craftsmen who could probably make much more money designing missiles or TV sets if it were not for their general disillusionment with mass-produced consumer culture, and their great satisfaction from making something beautiful with their own two hands. While they would not, as a few cynical critics intimate, wish to go back to gaslight and the horse and buggy, they do combine the practicality of power tools with pride in their mastery of hand tools, and will from time to time step aside from their creation of a new organ to restore an old one. Although most of these younger builders have plenty of work, they probably won't leave their heirs much money when they die; they just possibly may leave something of far greater value—even as the Old Guys did.

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The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Jack Santino

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was the first black union in America. It was begun in 1924, when the times were not gentle if you were black.

"Originally they would only hire blacks as porters, and the only other railroad occupation that blacks did was fireman, shoveling coal, because it was so hard. Then it got more mechanized and 'Negroes' were run out. We couldn't demand or insist on our salary since we had no union. We got paid a lot less."

—Ernest Ford.

The union helped change these conditions, helped make life and work on the railroad better for the black man. Although the union was powerful during the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's, in more recent times the na-

ture of the job has changed, and in 1978 the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters merged with the Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks. In effect, this major black union ceased to exist.

To mark the passing of this historic union, the Festival of American Folklife is featuring a group of sleeping car porters at the Nation of Nations Exhibit in the National Museum of History and Technology. Featured participants include Mr. William Miller, former president of the union, and Mr. Ernest Ford, former secretary-treasurer. Other members of the Brotherhood who will attend are Mr. J. D. Shaw and Mr. L. C. Ritchie. These men have stories to tell, experiences to unfold, skills to describe, and history to unveil. They are more than a unique part of labor history. They are national resources who carry with them an experience of black struggle in America.

Jack Santino is a doctoral candidate in folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania and is on the staff of the Smithsonian Folklife Program. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in folklore at The George Washington University.



Sleeping car porters took meticulous care of their passengers in the old Pullman cars—their professional pride made travel on transcontinental trains a luxurious experience. A porter transforms a Pullman seat into a berth as his passengers prepare for the night.

Behind the scenes, sleeping car porters prepare linen for the Pullman berths. Photos from the Smithsonian collections.

Folklore in your Community: The Stone Carvers of Washington's National Cathedral

Marjorie Hunt

No one exemplifies the idea of occupational group as community better than the stone carvers who have been working in Washington at the National Cathedral. They practice an art, a skill, a centuries-old craft in much the traditional way that it was practiced five generations ago in their families. Vincenzo Palumbo, Roger Morigi, Frank Zic, and Constantine Seferlis will be demonstrating this art at the 1978 Festival of American Folklife, and will share stories with the public about their skills and secrets, their history and their jobs.

Many of the traditional stone carvers are retired now, and it is said that their unique art is dying, for there are no young apprentices training to take their places. Photo documentation of some of the processes that go into the stone carver's art is on these pages. Come to the National Mall Oct. 4-9, 1978, to meet and see these gifted artists who live and work in our nation's capital.

Some of the other participants who will be featured in panels at the Folklore in Your Community project are taxi drivers, open market vendors, street hawkers, and local storytellers, all from this area. Join us and celebrate with us the rich and vital folklore and folklife in and around Washington, D.C.



Unless it is to be a free-hand carving, the first step in the carving process is the designing of a clay model by a sculptor. The clay is then cast into a plaster molding and given to the carver, who translates the image into stone. Vincenzo Palumbo, Frank Zic, and Roger Morigi discuss a model that will be given to Vincenzo to carve.

Photo by Marjorie Hunt for the Smithsonian.

The "family" of stone carvers in their workshop at Washington Cathedral. Master carver Morigi remembers, "There used to be seven carvers in this workshop. It was like a family. We used to have good times then, everyone enjoying themselves. That was the beauty of it."

Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



Marjorie Hunt is a doctoral candidate in folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. She has conducted fieldwork in Pennsylvania and Ireland, and worked on the Festival's Folklore in Your Community program.



Workmen ease a huge piece of Texas limestone into Roger Morigi's studio for the carving of the high altar.
Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



"When you work a model you've got to pay attention to the form and get the form like the model—you have to put in not your idea, but the idea of the sculptor. I try to understand and reproduce what is there." With a close eye to the plaster model behind him, Morigi uses a pneumatic hammer to rough out the image of Adam in stone—a process that took over two years to complete!
Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.

White-gloved stone carvers Frank Zic, Vincenzo Palumbo, and Roger Morigi and members of the building crew carefully hoist the completed stone carving of Adam to its rightful niche outside the Cathedral's West Front.
Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



Constantine Seferlis uses the pointing machine to check the accuracy of his work as it progresses. Before the pointing machine was invented, carvers used calipers to measure the stone.

Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



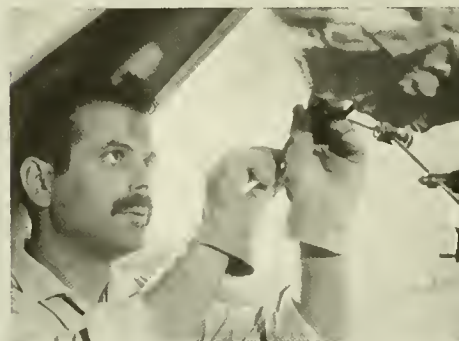
Frank Zic uses the stone carvers' pointing machine to translate exact measurements from the sculptor's plaster model to his lasting reproduction in stone.

Photo by Jane Doyle © 1978.



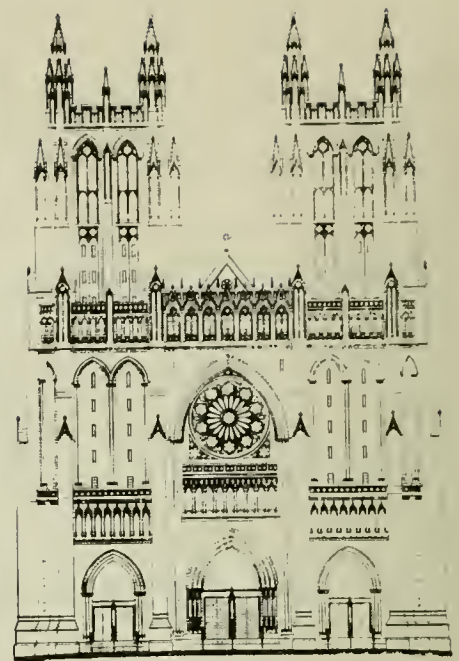
High up on a scaffold, Palumbo uses the pneumatic hammer to speed up some of the rough cutting on an ornamental piece. Except for this electric hammer, the tools and methods of carving and embellishing stone have changed very little over the centuries.

Photo by Marjorie Hunt for the Smithsonian.



Vincenzo Palumbo uses the traditional mallet and chisel to put the finishing touches on the leaves of an ornamental boss. "It is the small details that give a carving life. The most difficult thing to carve is a rose. It is the color that makes the rose beautiful and when you carve you must realize this. The ability of the good carver is to give the optical illusion of color by making use of contrast, texture, and exaggeration."

Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



Master carver Morigi stands back to inspect the totality of his workmanship. "The carver gives life to dead, cold stone. When you carve you have to have form in mind—the whole piece. And the form must be flowing—it must have the feeling that it floats."

Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.





Each carver has a distinct and unique hand—a certain knack or flair—which makes leaves sing and forms burst.
 Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.

Each carving at the Cathedral carries with it a bit of the man who carved it. Each carving tells the story of an occupational community—of what is important and meaningful to a group of craftsmen who share so many experiences in common. The golfer's grip gargoye is an example. It has special in-group meaning, for all the stone carvers are avid golfers.
 Photo by Marjorie Hunt for the Smithsonian.

The stone carvers at the Cathedral are indeed a community of workers, a family of men who share not only the same traditional skills, knowledge, and abilities, but the same day-in and day-out experiences—the same customs and traditions, frustrations and good times.
 Photo by Morton Broffman © 1978.



Sharecroppers

George W. McDaniel

The majority of nineteenth and early twentieth century Southern farmers were landless. Sharecroppers, tenants and wage hands, all had an important place in American history. For this reason the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology has brought into its Hall of Everyday Life in the American Past a sharecropper's house where a special exhibit on sharecroppers will be part of the Festival of American Folklife. Former sharecroppers will be there who can answer from personal experience such questions as what were the daily activities of men and women on farms? What did the children do? How were the rooms furnished? What did they cook with? What did they eat? What crops did they raise, and how did they divide them with the landowner?

This authentic sharecropper house was dismantled and moved from the Mulliken-Spragins farm near Bowie, Md. in 1968. People who lived in a house such as this left no wills, deeds, diaries, tax records or collections of letters that would help us to date its construction, identify its furnishings, or describe the lives of its occupants. Structural details, however, indicate that it was built shortly before 1900. It is therefore not an old house, nor is it typical of the houses of most Southern sharecroppers at that time; most were smaller and more crudely finished.

But the sharecroppers' houses were home. Throughout history, two-parent households lived in them. Most families included many children crowded in two rooms down and two up. The parents and infants traditionally used the smaller side room as their bedroom (which also served as the more formal sitting room), and the children slept upstairs—the boys



The reconstructed sharecropper's house attracts a lot of attention from visitors to the Hall of Everyday Life in the American Past.

Photo by George McDaniel for the Smithsonian.

in one room and the girls in the other. The larger room downstairs was the principal room for family life where food was cooked, meals eaten, vegetables canned, butter churned, bodies bathed, music played, and stories swapped. Babies were born in the house. George Johnson, one of the Festival participants, was born in this house in 1929 and rocked to sleep in a cradle in the side room by his mother, Elizabeth Johnson, also a participant. People died in the house too, as Octavia Parker Proctor, another participant, remembers; as a young girl she lived next door and was brought here to view a deceased daughter of the Wilson family, who resembled a "tiny doll" laid out on a cooling board between two chairs in the front room.

Outside the house, clothes were washed and dried, water carried from the spring, stove wood chopped and stacked, chickens fed and housed, and a path worn to the outside toilet. Beyond the house and vegetable garden, fields of tobacco and corn were

The sharecropper's house just before it was dismantled in 1968.

Photo by George Watson for the Smithsonian.

planted and harvested, and vegetable kilns and cabbage beds dug for winter storage of garden produce.

The house was part of a farm community and one of several tenant houses clustered together. Down the farm lane stood the landowner's large house. Nearby was the community church with the school in front of it and the cemetery behind.

Feel free to ask these participants about their home. Not all of them were associated with this house; some are from St. Mary's and Charles Counties, Md., and one is from Tidewater, S.C. But they all have memories in common and they all have much to pass on. Their experiences are evidence of the "hard times" black sharecroppers lived through, and of the reasons that thousands left the country and moved to the cities in one of the great migrations of American history. Its effects still shape your life, whether you live in the country, suburbs, or city. Some ways of life have been left behind, others have been modified by new circumstances, while still others remain intact.

George W. McDaniel, an historical consultant and photographer, recently researched this sharecropper's house for the Smithsonian Institution's Department of Cultural History.

Energy & Community

Peter Seitel

This year, for the second consecutive Festival, the Department of Energy is sponsoring a presentation of an energy-related theme in American folklife. Festival planners are highlighting two kinds of energy production that lately have been much in the news—coal and oil. Consistent with the Festival's traditional concern for occupational folklife, this year's energy component presents lore, lifestyles, and music from communities and families of coal and oil workers. The Department of Energy and the Festival of American Folklife invite you to experience some community folkways of the people who extract these important energy resources from the earth.

Coal miners and their kin from West Virginia share with you their music and their tales about working in the mines and living in "mine patch" communities. Underground miners demonstrate some skills needed in their work and some kinds of equipment that they handle to extract bituminous coal from the mountains. They will help you try on miners' safety equipment and demonstrate the difference between "high coal" and "low coal." Men and women working in the mines form a close-knit group: they depend upon each other's skills, attention to safety, and moral support. The mine is potentially dangerous, and strong community ties help to preserve, maintain, and better the miner's life.

The "roughnecks" who come to the Festival from the Golden Triangle oil-producing region of the Texas-Louisiana Gulf Coast are, in fact, relatively gentle people whose nickname is really an occupational classification. "Roughnecks" are people who work on the floor of an oil-drilling derrick. Historically, in the boom-and-bust



George Korson, pioneer industrial folklorist, records miners' music in New Kirk Tunnel Mine, Tamagua, Pa., 1946.

Photo from Korson Archive, King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.



Miners pause to eat in the "dinner hole."
Photo courtesy United Mine Workers.

A miner carries around his blasting tools while working in low coal.
Photo courtesy United Mine Workers.



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days of oil discovery, when an exploratory well signaled its fruitfulness with a spewing geyser of oil, when towns of floorless tents and ramshackle buildings sprang up to house the rapid influx of workers, "roughneck" may have also signified a characteristic life-style. But today oil workers live as do their counterparts in other industries, in the communities that ring the Gulf shore. Oil workers will share with you their specialized knowledge, skills, work-related tales of today and of the boom years earlier in this century, and folk traditions from several ethnic groups whose members work in Golden Triangle oil.

The forces that shape coal miners' and oil drillers' occupational folklives are similar to those that shape the occupational folklives of other workers in outdoor extractive or construction industries such as lumber, hard-rock mining, and high steel. One of these forces is physical danger, which requires careful cooperation among work-crew members. The workers are, in a sense, dependent upon one another for their safety and continued productivity; this mutual interdependence is expressed in a variety of cultural forms.

A principal factor that makes these worksites dangerous is that they are nonpermanent. Unlike workers in a factory, processing plant or office, extractive workers practice their skills in a continually changing workplace. Oil drillers move from site to site exploring or augmenting existing wells. A miner's workplace moves deeper and deeper into the earth as coal is extracted. The temporary nature of the work sites makes permanent safety installation and structures impractical and uneconomical. Safety thus depends more upon procedures than on structures. This increases mutual reliance among members of the work crew; an oversight by any one can bring danger for all.

The use of large heavy equipment in very small spaces also increases danger and the need for cooperative action. Oil drilling requires coordinated movements among a crane operator, who hoists lengths of drilling pipe; the "monkeyman" who takes out and stores away the pipe on a raised platform; and the "roughneck" who either receives lengths of pipe that the crane operator has lowered and attaches them to the drilling shaft, or removes lengths of pipe and rigs them so the crane operator can lift them to the higher platform for storage. Uncoor-



A derrick or "monkey" man works high above the drilling platform.

Photo by David Moody © 1978.

Roughnecks at work.

Photo by David Moody © 1978.



dated or ill-informed movements mean injuries.

Nature introduces complications in work procedures. Rain brings mud to the oil-drilling worksite, a slippery situation to work with, but unavoidable. While they are virtually unaffected by direct rain or sunshine, underground coal miners must cope with geologic hazards such as gas, irregular rock formations and underground water.

The intensified force of community in the mine and on the oil drilling rig is expressed in many cultural forms. At the basis of all of them is a set of shared understandings that enable one to predict and depend on the actions of co-workers. The occupational community's shared understandings include not only norms of behavior (predictable actions) but also values. In mining and oil drilling as in other dangerous occupations, values weigh the relative balance between safety on the one side and production speed on the other.

Occupational cultural expression includes both verbal and "practical" joking, which, among other things, seems to be aimed at keeping fellow workers loose in their job roles, flexible and adaptable to unexpected possibilities. Narratives contain information about both the recurrent and the unusual situations that occur on the job. Songs, especially among coal miners, express shared feelings. And elements of personal style, like a coal miner's distinctive round "dinner pail" contribute to a strong statement of identity.

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A fleet of skipjacks, used in the Chesapeake Bay for oyster dredging from November until April. The skipjack with its high, graceful bow is the last fleet of working sail in America, and is a symbol of the romance of the Bay.
Photo by Ralph Rinzler for the Smithsonian.

Region and Community: The Chesapeake Bay

Charles Camp

The Chesapeake Bay has long been appreciated as one of the Middle Atlantic's prizes of nature—an area both beautiful to the tourist's eye and bountiful to the waterman's nets. The Bay has served to define the geographical and historical identity of the region—a place from which the lines of culture have traditionally been drawn.

The Bay occupies a special place in the minds of Marylanders, who have come to define themselves, their foodways, and their ambivalence toward modern times in terms of the Bay and its people. The fluctuating price of crabmeat is not a simple indicator of nationwide economic trends; it is the expression of a complex

biological and economic system that is made all the more compelling by its many human participants. The waterman is the central figure in this order—the human link that both generates the system's complexity and makes it comprehensible. The watermen catch the wily crab, itself the subject of considerable folk wisdom, and all of modern science and economics cannot draw the crab unwillingly into the pot.

In the states that border the Bay, the waterman has achieved the status of a folk hero, an individual believed to possess an understanding of his world which surpasses that of his fellow-men, and powers of will and strength that enable him to perform heroic feats. Unlike most folk heroes, however, the waterman works alone in a world where silence prevails, and

the heroics—real and fictive—exist chiefly in the stories told outside work. These stories, of bad weather, good captains, and great catches, serve to define the way of life the watermen share, and maintain the line between insiders and outsiders which describes the folk group.

In part because the folklore of the watermen tends to focus upon the relationship between individuals and the natural world in which they work, outsiders are not accustomed to thinking of the people of the Chesapeake Bay region as members of tightly-knit communities. There are exceptions—the more isolated islands of the lower Eastern Shore, including Tilghman, Smith, and Deal, have long been considered places where older values, including a strong sense of community, continue to prevail. But

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with these exceptions, the Bay region and the lower Eastern Shore in particular are seldom viewed as a network of towns and hamlets which by their interdependence constitute a very special sort of economic and social community. Most of the towns that encircle the Bay at first appear to be simply places where people live and work. The towns seem more the products of expediency than planning or the thoughtful decision of families to settle together in one place.

Like many other aspects of the Bay, these initial impressions are misleading. The dependence that Bay area community members place upon each other is subtle, yet it dramatically shapes the way life is lived and the rewards of living it. Like the waterman, who requires the services of a shipwright, marine blacksmith, net gearer, mechanic, and fuel supplier to make his living, Bay towns are formed as much by mutual reliance as self-sufficiency. The economic chain that extends from the Chesapeake waters to the Middle Atlantic markets is dependent not only upon individual watermen, but also upon the Bay communities for the delivery of oysters, crabs, and clams to waiting consumers. Recent changes in this chain, and the increase of large-scale commercial fishing in the Bay have not altered the principles of independence and mutual support which, despite their superficial incompatibility, form the foundation of community life.

The Bay is changing, as all people and their communities change, but the identity of the region in the minds of those who live within its bounds remains strong. Like the crab that challenges the waterman to seek him in his home and on his terms, the Bay is a vital, yet ever elusive force, shaping those who live upon its fortunes.

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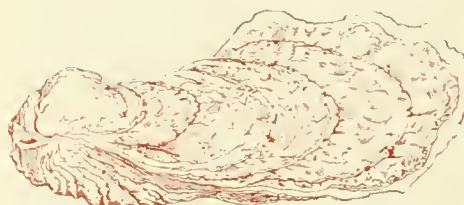


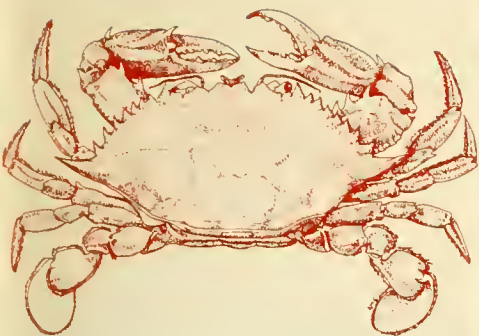
The life cycle of the Atlantic blue crab is punctuated by a series of moults, or shell shedding. Like fingernails, their shells consist of a substance called chitin which has no growth cells. The popular soft shell crab is not a separate species as is sometimes thought, but an Atlantic blue crab in a specific stage of moult. After shedding, if left in the water, a crab's new shell becomes a "paper shell" or slightly stiff in 12 hours, and crinkly hard in 24 hours. Seventy-two hours after shedding, the crab's new shell is as hard as his old one was.

Checking the crab floats is an every-day job for the waterman. He must get the soft crabs out before their shells turn hard. Floats are placed in creeks carefully chosen for their strong tidal flow and anchored crosswise to insure maximum circulation. The waterman must constantly watch and overhaul his floats, cull unhealthy specimens and check the progress of the crabs daily as they approach the moment of moult.

Henry Brown, sailmaker, carries on his family's three-generation tradition of making sails for skipjacks. He takes pride in doing the handwork that most newer sailmakers do by machine.

Photo by Janet Stratton for the Smithsonian.





An increasingly used modification of the crab float is a stationary extension of the crab shanty. Besides making it far more convenient for the watermen to work the floats, this arrangement insures constant water circulation by means of pumping tidal waters through the holding tanks.



Watermen in a crab shanty talk about the day's catch with Ben Evans (right), a Festival field worker, and Alex Kellam (left). Alex Kellam is a storyteller and retired waterman from Smith Island, whose conversations are well laced with the stories, poems and songs of the Tangier Sound.

Soft crabs from Smith Island are cleaned, packed and prepared for market, first going to Crisfield, the commercial center for Tangier Sound watermen, and crab capital of the world. Shipping point of the world's largest annual catch of crabs, it exports 125-175 million pounds of crabs, worth approximately \$40 million.

Photos by Janet Stratton for the Smithsonian.



Smith Island

from "Beautiful Swimmers"

William W. Warner

Smith Island's population is divided among the separate villages of Ewell, Tylerton and Rhodes Point. The population of the whole island presently does not exceed 650.

The village of Ewell, Smith Island's largest community, is divided into two roughly equal parts called "Over the Hill" and "Down the Field". It is periodically flooded by storm tides during which graves have been dislodged and coffins known to float away. But the islanders have learned to live with these floods, and some even consider the island's vulnerability an advantage of sorts. A group of older men in Filmore Brimer's general store once took great care to explain why this is so.

"We got it nice some ways," one said. "Water passes right over the island. People think we fare bad, but the island's low and it's got plenty of outlets. If it weren't for that, we'd be sunk for rain and tide!"

"Oh, my heavens, yes," a second agreed. "Now you take Crisfield. High tides and a southwest storm, the water pushes right up into town and stays there. In Hurricane Hazel it went clear up to the stoplight and they was crab floats all over Main Street. Course, it's true Hazel come over us, too, and all them coffins went adrift. You remember that, Stanley? But the people put on their boots and fetched the coffins back all right, they did. And you know the water didn't stay very long."

"That's right," the first speaker concluded. "Also you got to think we don't get squalls like they do over to the western shore. Sunnybank and places like that. Get more waterspouts there."

William W. Warner is a former Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and recipient of its Exceptional Service Award. This article is excerpted from his Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Beautiful Swimmers*, © 1976, by permission of Little, Brown and Co.



Low land notwithstanding, Ewell gives the visitor a remarkably secure feeling. In spite of its name the Big Thorofare is narrow and well protected, or what cruising guides like to call a snugery. The wind may be busy above, bending the pines and cedars, but down on the water there are only wavelets and cat's paws. Ewell's main street—it has no formal name—is similarly snug. The neatly painted houses, white clapboard with green or red shutters, retain ornamental picket fences or are sufficiently separated not to require any. In summer there is always shade. On nearly every front lawn there are fig trees and elaborate birdhouse hotels for purple martins. Out back are nicely kept shacks, also white clapboard, where the men putter with their gear, and round brick pump houses with conical slate roofs that somehow remind you of Williamsburg. For the weary sailor, Ewell is a delight.

The shady tree-lined main street of Ewell on Smith Island with its crisp white clapboard houses reflects the islanders' strong sense of the traditional American community. Cozy, simple, but well kept, the village offers refuge from the vagaries of nature.

Photo by Janet Stratton for the Smithsonian.

Tylerton offers similar pleasures, although keel boats may come to grief in getting down shallow Tyler Ditch. Quiet and isolated, Tylerton has a reputation of being very conservative. "Ewell, that's too noisy for us," Tylertonians protest. "Cars, all those lights! Might as well be city folks." Rhodes Point, the Rogues Point of yore, is the smallest of Smith Island's three towns.

Smith Island may not be to everyone's liking, but for those who want to see the water trades at their traditional best, Smith will never disappoint. Smith Island's greatest fascination lies with the memory of its older citizens, who enjoy telling how it was only

thirty years ago living without electricity and working the water mainly by sail. With the exception of Deal Island, there is no better place on the Bay to learn of forgotten craft and the skills required to take crabs and oysters under a full press of canvas. The older watermen like to talk most about the sporty little Smith Island crab skiffs—"dinkies" they were called locally—that went in flotillas to spend the week trotlining or dipping for peelers up around Bloodsworth or South Marsh. Not much more than eighteen feet in length, the dinkies had a single large sprit-sail and carried one hundred pound sandbags as movable ballast, the dexterous placement of which was essential to maintaining an upright position. "Breeze up strong and didn't we go!" says William Wilson Sneade, seventy-three, who now occupies himself making fine buster floats of cedar and spruce. "Just wicker [luff] the sail a

little, move your bags around and you made out all right. But come squalls, you could capsize easy enough! Thing to do was head for the shallers, where you could get your feet on the bottom, unstep the mast and right your boat. Then step her up, set your spreet pole and off you go again!"

"That's right," laughs Omar Evans, the proprietor of Smith Island's lone crab house. "Capsizing, it made you so mad you scooped out like half of the water and then drank the balance for cussedness."

Both men remember how bad the bugs were when they spent the week in little shanties on the uninhabited islands up north. "You walked in the high grass," Evans recalls. "And the green flies carried you off." (They still do.) Sneade's memory of trotlining techniques is especially clear. "Tide up and a smart breeze, we put out our lines," he explains. "You set them fair with the wind, hoisted a little pink of

sail, sailed downwind running the lines—you couldn't reach, that made the line too shaky for the crabs—and then you tacked back up and did it all over again. Tide down and slick pretty ca'm, we poled and dipped for peelers, standing right on the bow. Sometimes we took along a sharp-ended gunning skiff, also good for poling."

Evans is an expert on the larger boats used in crab scraping. There were the Jenkins Creek catboats, "one-sail bateaux," he calls them, and the bigger jib-headed sloops, out of which the skipjacks probably evolved, that could pull three crab scrapes in good breeze. "We built them good here," he says with pride. Both recall that it was hard work hauling in the scrapes. "No winches, like they got later," Sneade reminds you. "You slacked off on the sail a bit and just pulled in your scrapes through main strength and awkwardness."

"Couldn't do that no more," he adds. "I'm all stove in. Ailing more this year than the last ten. Age is coming to me, that's the thing."

Age is coming. To the islands as a whole, many observers believe. Whether Smith can in fact hold out is a question that is now sometimes raised. "Oh, no, the islands will never fail," an experienced picking plant owner in Crisfield recently reassured me. "Not as long as there are crabs in the Bay." He went on to explain very patiently that nobody in the Bay country caught more crabs, knew more about them, or went at it harder than the island people. "Why, they study crabs," he finished in tones of awe. "And the thing is they pass on all what they know to the young ones."

The double-ended skiff which traditionally was used in the shallow waters for dipping crabs from buster floats has now been replaced by a flat-backed boat which will accommodate an outboard motor.

Photo by Janet Stratton for the Smithsonian.



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Every special thank you is extended to all of the National Park Service and Smithsonian staff and volunteers who help in so many ways. Their spirit of cooperation and good humor contribute indispensably to the success of the Festival. Without their generous assistance, patience, interest, and encouragement, the Festival would not be possible. Many, many thanks for your support.

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